This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

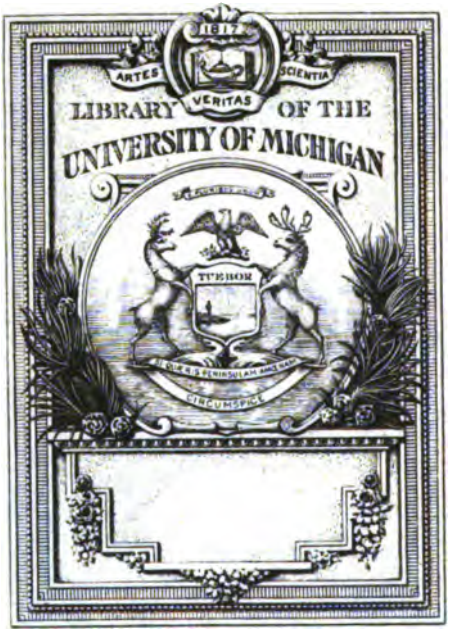
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


1817
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR
CIRCUMSPICE

# FAIRS, PAST AND PRESENT.

# FAIRS,

## PAST AND PRESENT:

134247

A

## CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE.

BY

CORNELIUS WALFORD, F.I.A., F.S.S.,

*Barrister-at-Law, and Vice-President of Royal Historical Society.*

LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK,

62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1883.

# PREFACE.

IT ſeems a little remarkable that an inſtitution at once ſo popular and ſo univerſal as fairs ſhould not heretofore have found an hiſtorian. The fact may perhaps be accounted for in the circumſtance that fairs, as now regarded, are aſſociated with notions of frivolity. Many of the circumſtances connected with their origin are certainly not generally known. They were the product of a blending of Religion with Commerce, ſuited to the genius of former ages, but finding little ſympathy now. They have been aſſociated with the development of commerce in the nations of Europe—perhaps in the nations of the world.

The materials for ſuch a hiſtory are reaſonably abundant upon diligent ſearch. They do not lie upon the ſurface. Prolonged inveſtigation revealed ſo much, that for the purpoſe of this work ſome ſelection became neceſſary. I had to conſider whether it would be more inſtructive to preſent the incomplete outline of a number of fairs ranging throughout the world, or to ſelect ſome of the prin-

cipal ones at home and abroad, paſt and preſent, and trace minutely their origin, their development, and their decadence. I determined upon the latter courſe; and this, too, notwithſtanding that Mr. Henry Morley had already traced in much detail one of the great fairs whose records it would become neceſſary for me to traverſe.

I was chiefly led to the deciſion ſtated from the fact that the greateſt fair ever held in this country, and held for many centuries—that of *Sturbridge*, by Cambridge—had hitherto found no hiſtorian; yet many of its annals are on record in a form of undoubted authenticity. It ſeemed to me that it would be more inſtructive to follow ſuch a hiſtory through its ſucceſſive phaſes than to preſent a ſeries of minor ſketches, however varied the details ſhould be. I truſt it may be felt that I have ſelected the right courſe. The other materials brought together are not loſt; they are only held over, and will receive the benefit of ſome additions and corrections. They can be had when called for, and they will reveal much that is new, even after this work ſhall have been read.

The greateſt fair in England was that of STURBRIDGE; the greateſt fair in London that of ST. BARTHOLOMEW, Smithfield. Their hiſtories are here given. They have ſome points of reſemblance; but on the whole they repreſent two really diſtinct pictures of old Engliſh manners.

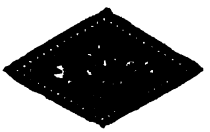
The fairs of Continental Europe required ſome elucidation. I have given therefore an outline of ſeveral of the more notable fairs of FRANCE, includ-

ing thoſe moſt famous gatherings of the middle ages at Champagne and Brie. Concerning theſe latter I have been able to preſent ſome original documents, forming part of the records of the City of London, and now for the firſt time printed. Many of theſe fairs are things of the paſt. I have added an outline of the fairs of RUSSIA, including the great fair of *Nijni-Novgorod*, becauſe theſe are inſtitutions of the preſent. I think the hiſtory of this laſt-named fair has not previouſly been written in ſuch detail.

I truſt that the work will be found reaſonably free alike from author's and from printer's errors.

C. W.

BELSIZE PARK GARDENS,
LONDON, *February*, 1883.



## ERRATA.

Page 17, firſt line, read *dieta* for *dicta*.

Pages 20, 21, 22, for *Magna Carter* read *Magna Charta*.

Page 21 (note), ſixth line, after "Saxon" read *Thell*, Low Latin.

Page 245, nine lines from bottom, for "A.D. 427," read *in the fifth century*.

# CONTENTS.


| | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| CHAPTER I. | Origin of Fairs . . . . . | 1 |
| II. | Origin and Laws—England . . | 12 |
| III. | Early Regulations—England . . | 19 |
| IV. | Courts of Piepowder . . . . | 26 |
| V. | Legiſlation for Fairs—England . . | 32 |
| VI. | Modern Legiſlation . . . . . | 49 |
| VII. | Sturbridge Fair, Origin of . . . | 54 |
| VIII. | Sturbridge Fair, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries . . . . . | 58 |
| IX. | Sturbridge Fair, firſt half of the Sixteenth Century . . . . . | 68 |
| X. | Sturbridge Fair, ſecond half of the Sixteenth Century . . . . | 88 |
| XI. | Sturbridge Fair, Seventeenth Century . | 113 |
| XII. | Sturbridge Fair, Eighteenth Century . | 128 |
| XIII. | Sturbridge Fair, Nineteenth Century . | 149 |
| XIV. | Sturbridge Fair, Concluſion . . . | 160 |
| XV. | Bartholomew Fair, Origin of . . | 164 |
| XVI. | Bartholomew Fair, Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries . . . . . | 167 |
| XVII. | Bartholomew Fair, Seventeenth Century | 190 |
| XVIII. | Bartholomew Fair, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries . . . . . | 217 |

PAGE

CHAPTER XIX. Fairs in France . . . . . 245
XX. Other Fairs of France . . . . 261
XXI. The Fairs of Paris . . . . . 275
XXII. Fairs of Ruſſia . . . . . 284
XXIII. Nijni-Novgorod. . . . . 291
XXIV. Fairs in Aſiatic Ruſſia. . . . . 308
Comprehenſive Index. . . . . 311

# CHAPTER I.

## ORIGIN OF FAIRS.

THE origin of Fairs, like that of many other ancient inſtitutions, is involved in much obſcurity. The almoſt univerſal belief is that they were aſſociated with religious obſervances; or, as Mr. Morley poetically puts it: "the firſt fairs were formed by the gathering of worſhippers and pilgrims about ſacred places, and eſpecially within or about the walls of abbeys and cathedrals, on the Feaſt days of the Saints enſhrined therein." The ſacred building and its ſurroundings being too ſmall to provide accommodation, tents were pitched; and as the reſources of the diſtrict would no more ſuffice to victual than to lodge its throngs of viſitors, ſtalls were ſet up by proviſion dealers; and later theſe were turned to more general purpoſes of trade. This incidental origin ſeems, in ſome caſes, hardly ſufficient to account for the reſults which followed;

but then it has ever been the genius of commerce to follow cloſe upon the wants of the people.

The eſtabliſhment of fairs as a ſource of revenue to religious houſes was probably a later development. The Church has always been keenly alive to its temporal intereſts. And while it was one of its principal functions to adminiſter hoſpitality to the needy and decrepit, there was juſtice in drawing contributions from thoſe who too ſoon might have to rely upon its bounty. Certain it is that nearly all the early charters which I ſhall have to notice in the progreſs of this work were ſhaped in view of granting tolls and revenue to the purpoſes of religion and charity.

The ſignification of the word Fair (French *foire*) is in the Latin *forum* a market-place, or *feriæ* holidays. But the German deſignation *Meſſen* ſeems ſtill more ſignificant, as being a word employed to denote the moſt ſolemn part of the Church ſervice—the maſs (Latin *miſſa*). The aſſociation of ideas here implied ſtrengthens with every ſtep of inveſtigation. In the time of Conſtantine the Great (fourth century of Chriſtian era) Jews, Gentiles, and Chriſtians aſſembled in great numbers to perform their ſeveral rites about a tree reputed to be the oak mambre under which Abraham received the angels. At the ſame place, adds Zoſimus, there came together many traders, both for ſale and purchaſe of their wares. St. Baſil, towards the cloſe of the ſixth century, complained (*De Aſcetiſis*) that his own Church was profaned by the public fairs held at the martyr's ſhrines. While Michaud ("Hiſtory of

Cruſades," i., 11) records that under the Fatimite Caliphs, in the eleventh century, a fair was held on Mount Calvary on the 15th September every year, in which were exchanged the productions of Europe for those of the Eaſt. Gibbon implies an earlier date, in ſtating that it was promoted by the frequent pilgrimages between the ſeventh and the eleventh centuries. This Fair was of special importance in the commerce of the Italians with the Eaſt. *Vide* Cunningham's "Growth of Engliſh Induſtry and Commerce," 1882, p. 120, n.

Theſe notes are but preliminary and introductory: the inquiry has now to take a wider range.

*Greece.*—The aſſociation of commerce with religious obſervances ſeems indeed not to have originated in or with the Chriſtian Church. It is ſuppoſed for inſtance that at the celebrated Greek games, ſuch as thoſe at Olympia, &c., trade was no entirely ſubordinate object; and this idea gains confirmation from various paſſages in the ancient claſſic authors. Cicero expreſſly ſtates that even ſo early as the age of Pythagoras, a great number of people attended the religious games for the ſpecial purpoſe of trading. At Delphi, Nemæa, Delos, or the Iſthmus of Corinth, a fair was held almoſt every year. The Amphyctionic fairs were held twice a year. In the time of Chryſoſtom, theſe fairs were infamouſly diſtinguiſhed for a traffic in ſlaves, deſtined for public incontinence.[1] The Amphyctionic

[1] We ſhall find that at a later period the ſale of ſlaves was introduced into the fairs and markets of England and the north of Europe generally.

ſpring fair was held at Delphi, and the autumn fair at Thermopylæ: in fact at the ſame times that the deputies from the States of Greece formed the Amphyctionic Council—another proof that wherever large aſſemblies of people took place in Greece, for religious or political purpoſes, advantage was taken to carry on traffic. At the fairs of Thermopylæ medicinal herbs and roots, eſpecially hellebore, were ſold in large quantities.

It may be taken for granted that one principal reaſon why the religious games or the political aſſemblies of the States were fixed upon to hold the fairs was that during theſe, *all hoſtilities were ſuſpended:* and every perſon might go with his merchandiſe in ſafety to them, even through an enemy's country. The prieſts, ſo far from regarding theſe fairs as a profanation of the religious ceremonies, encouraged them; and the prieſts of Jupiter, in particular, advanced large ſums on intereſt to ſuch merchants as had good credit, but had not ſufficient money with them, *vide* Stevenſon's "Hiſtorical Sketch of the Progreſs of Diſcovery, Navigation and Commerce," vol. 18 of Kerr's "Travels," 1824.

*Early Eaſtern Nations.*—By reference to "The Books of the Prophets," we are enabled to realize the importance of the fairs in the ancient commerce of the great city of Tyre (probably B.C. 597-74) "the crowning city whoſe merchants were princes, whoſe traffickers the honourable of the earth" (Iſaiah xxiii. 8). Thus in Ezekiel xxvii.:—

"12. Tarſhiſh was thy merchant by reaſon of

the multitude of all kinds of riches; with ſilver, iron, tin and lead, they traded in thy fairs. . . .

"14. They of the houſe of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horſes and horſemen and mules. . . .

"16. Syria was thy merchant by reaſon of the multitude of the wares of thy making: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple and broidered work, and fine linen and coral and agate. . . .

"19. Dan alſo and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, caſſia, and calamus, were in thy market. . . .

"22. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all ſpices, and with all precious ſtones and gold. . . .

"27. Thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandiſe, thy mariners ſhall fall into the midſt of the ſeas in the day of thy ruin."

The merchant traders mentioned here claim anceſtry from families mentioned Geneſis x. 3-7. The expreſſion "they occupied" may be rendered "they inhabited." In the ſame chapter, in alternate verſes, there are many references to markets.

*Rome.*—It is aſſerted by learned writers (Foſbroke and others) that fairs, as ſuch, took their origin in ancient Rome. Romulus, Servius, Tullius, and the Republic, at its commencement, are ſeverally ſaid to have inſtituted fairs, in order that the country people might come in every ninth day (*nundinae*) to hear the laws proclaimed, or the

decrees of the people delivered.[1] Other public buſineſs was tranſacted thereat. Booths, tents, and wooden ſtands for ſhows were always uſual in ſuch places. The fairs were frequently held in the public ſtreets; and one of the moſt conſtant objects of ſale or barter was that of indulgences! Dogs, and eſpecially greyhounds, were ſold at theſe Roman fairs. It is further ſaid that the fairs were appointed to be held on Saints' days *in order that trade might attract thoſe whom religion could not influence.* The monaſteries ſold goods, probably ſuch as their inmates and ſurrounding dependents could manufacture.

Courts for the purpoſes of adjudicating upon queſtions of diſpute ariſing out of the dealings at the fairs were held alike in Greece and Rome; theſe being ſimilar to the Pie-powder Courts of the middle ages, and moſt likely their precurſors. In time of war, fairs were guarded by ſoldiers, attempts at plunder being frequent. Bells were provided in fairs for the purpoſe of giving ſpeedy alarm.

It has been generally admitted that the Romans introduced the practice of holding fairs into the north of Europe. I think I ſhall make it abundantly clear that they introduced them into England.

*Italy.*—It is towards the cloſe of the fifth century of the Chriſtian era that we firſt find any authentic account of fairs ſpecially deſigned as marts for

[1] Suetonius records that Claudius Cæſar made ſuit unto the Conſuls for a licence to hold fairs and markets for his own private manors and lands.—*Sueton.*, ch. xxii.

commerce. Like many other incidents aſſociated with the hiſtory of commerce, the firſt traces are found in Italy. The Weſtern Roman Empire had become extinguiſhed; but Italy had fallen into good hands. Theodoric the Chief or King of the Oſtro-Goths had done much to revive its agriculture, and ſomething for its commerce. Foreign merchants began to viſit it again; and about A.D. 493 ſeveral *fairs* were appointed for the purpoſe of exchanging its redundant produce with the merchandiſe of other countries. Many rich Jew traders ſettled in Rome; and by means of theſe fairs a wide interchange of commodities was effected.

*Germany.*—We next turn to *Germany*. We know that the Emperor Charles the Great (Charlemagne) towards the cloſe of the eighth century paid great attention to the commerce of weſtern Europe—a fact indeed which ſeems difficult to be reconciled with the circumſtance that he allowed the prieſts to make a canon declaring all intereſt for the uſe of money to be ſinful! It may be that he yielded this point in the hope that commercial dealings would ſoon explode the fallacy. He recognized in fairs a means of exchange of commodities well ſuited to the times. The great fairs of his period were thoſe of Aquisgranum (*Aix la Chapelle*) and of *Troyes*. Theſe were frequented during his reign by traders from moſt parts of Europe. The weight uſed at the latter fair for dealings in coin—then often accepted by weight only on account of its battered condition—became

adopted as the weight for bullion in all parts of Europe—the pound troy.

*Flanders.*—Our attention is next directed here. The woollen manufactures commenced probably in the latter half of the tenth century (960). At firſt the ſales were moſtly to the French, whoſe thrifty habits enabled them to purchaſe fine woollen cloths for wear. On account of the ſcarcity of coin the trade was moſtly carried on by barter, to facilitate which Baldwin, Earl of Flanders—who ſeems to have exceeded moſt of the ſovereigns of that period in defiring the real intereſt of himſelf and his ſubjects—ſet up weekly markets, and eſtabliſhed regular fairs at *Bruges*, *Courtray*, *Torhout* and *Mont-Caſel*, at all which he exempted the goods ſold or exchanged from paying any duties on being brought in or carried out. The new trade was thus greatly extended, and it continued to flouriſh for ſeveral centuries—largely due to its being widely known through the fairs of Europe.

*France.*—Much of the European commerce of the middle ages was tranſacted at the celebrated fairs of Champagne and Brie. There the merchants of Italy, Spain and France congregated. From far diſtant climes the Genoeſe tranſported thither bales of goods; and buſy traders came to meet in open market the infant efforts of Belgian manufacturers from Yprès, Douai, and Bruges. Burgundy ſent cloth, Catalonia leather, and the Genoeſe and Florentines brought ſilks; while at all the ſeaports along their coaſts vaſt cargoes were unſhipped and placed on the backs of mules

to wend their way to the place appointed for the fair.

Theſe fairs would begin with the ſale of cloth, perhaps for ſeventeen days; the cloth merchants would ſettle their accounts prior to the ſilk merchants entering upon their bargains. In the middle of it all the great cry "Ara" was raiſed, as a ſignal for the money-changers to take their ſeats, and for four weeks they ſat for the benefit of the various nationalities who wiſhed to realize their gains in their native coin.

After the concluſion of the fair a buſy time of fifteen days was ſet apart for thoſe who had not yet ſettled their accounts, and to rectify diſputes; which time was extended in favour of the repreſentatives of more diſtant people who wiſhed to go home and return before finally completing their books. The Genoeſe burſar at theſe fairs had always a month allowed him before ſettling his accounts.

Bent (in his "Genoa: how the Republic Roſe and Fell," 1881) from whom we have drawn ſome of the preceding details ſays (p. 106) theſe fairs in ſouthern France were not without their political ſignificance. Beſides bringing hither their merchandiſe, the Italian traders imported into theſe towns their ſpirit of independence and their love of republicaniſm. It was from the ſouth of France that the ſeeds of liberty, equality, and fraternity ſpread northwards. No greater ſtronghold of the rights of the third eſtate exiſted than at Marſeilles. To this day the influence of this fact is ſtrong on

the politics of France. And the principles inculcated by the independent traders of Italy took deep root here under the eyes of deſpotiſm, and found a truly favourable ſoil in which to develop. The French revolution, and the ſtate of France as it is to-day, may owe their firſt ſource to theſe very times when a Genoeſe merchant would repair to theſe fairs, proud and boaſtful of his own freedom, of his vote in the General Council, and of a government which owned no royal maſter; and all this could be ſaid with a ſneer at the people over whom the banner of the lilies held deſpotic ſway.

*North of Europe.*—Towards the cloſe of the tenth century periodical public markets or fairs were eſtabliſhed in the northern portions of Europe, and were uſed for a purpoſe altogether new in theſe higher latitudes, but ariſing out of the rapine and hoſtilities peculiar to the period. In ſeveral of the North German towns the merchandiſe brought to them conſiſted of ſlaves taken in the wars—many of which were believed to have been fermented for the ſimple purpoſe of carrying off captives. Helmold relates that he ſaw 7,000 Daniſh ſlaves at one time expoſed for ſale in the market at Meklenberg. The common price of ordinary ſlaves of either ſex was about a mark (or 8 oz.) of ſilver; but ſome female ſlaves for their beauty or qualifications were rated as high as three marks. (*Vide* Thorkelin's "Eſſay on the Slave Trade," pp. 4-9.)

We arrive at the cloſe of the ſixteenth century. The city of *Antwerp* had at this period arrived very nearly at the ſummit of its wealth and glory, which

Anderſon ("Hiſt. of Commerce," ii., p. 25) conſiders it had acquired by two principal means :—

I. By the grants of free fairs for commerce, made formerly by the ſovereigns of the Netherlands—two of which fairs laſted each time ſix weeks —whither merchants reſorted from all parts of Chriſtendom with their merchandiſe, cuſtom free. *At theſe fairs vaſt concerns were managed, not only in merchandiſe, but in bills of exchange with all parts of Europe.*

II. It had become the entrepot of the commerce between the ſouthern and northern ports of Europe, and eſpecially of the Portugueſe merchants. This drew the German and other merchants to ſettle there; and the merchants of *Bruges* largely removed thither after the Archduke Maximilian had (about 1499) reduced their city. The fairs were aided by, and themſelves aided, this development.

# ENGLAND.

## CHAPTER II.

### ORIGIN AND LAWS—ENGLAND.

IN the preceding ſurvey I have intentionally omitted any mention of *England*. Hiſtorians of the ordinary type have thought it beneath their dignity to refer to anything ſo common-place as fairs. The real mainſprings of our commerce ſeem in fact very generally to have eſcaped them. The greateſt commercial nation of the world has found no hiſtorian willing to record the true cauſes of its greatneſs. The intrigues of ſovereigns, the machinations of eccleſiaſtics; the trickeries of ſtateſmen and diplomatiſts, have alone commanded their attention and abſorbed their limited energies. The Statute-book, the one great ſtorehouſe of our national hiſtory, has eſcaped their obſervation. I propoſe to devote a ſpecial chapter to the origin and development of fairs in England.

It has been claimed that the Anglo-Saxons

founded alike fairs and markets in England. To Alfred the Great the honour is uſually aſſigned. I have no doubt whatever that the Romans firſt introduced the practice of holding markets and fairs in England. I find very diſtinct traces of fairs of Roman origin at *Helſton* (Cornwall), at *Barnwell* (by Cambridge), at *Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne*, and at ſeveral places along the line of the Roman wall in Northumberland. But aſſuming that the inſtitutions of the country were largely recaſt during the Anglo-Saxon period, we may take note of the ſuppoſed re-inſtitution of markets and fairs in the ninth century. The tithings held their ſittings in their tithing or free-borough once a week, and many people coming thither to have their matters adjudicated upon, brought alſo their garden produce, corn, beaſts, and *id genus omne*, for ſale: becauſe there they could meet one another, and buy and ſell as their needs required, hence the commencement of a market weekly. From the Courts juſt mentioned there lay an appeal, if either plaintiff or defendant were not ſatisfied, to a County Court, held about Eaſter and Michaelmas, and over theſe a biſhop and ealderman preſided. To this ſuperior Court alſo came numbers who, at the various intermediate Court-leets were not ſatisfied. And as large numbers came together, a greater and better opportunity was afforded for ſelling their wares and goods, corn, beaſts, ſtuffs, linens. "*In this we can trace the origin of fairs*, which were generally held twice a year, on or about the times mentioned." This is the dictum of Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., in

a paper read before the London and Middlesex Archæological Society in 1880, the substance of which is published in the "Antiquary," ii., pp. 102-3. The fairs here are seen to be purely secular institutions.

It was by the *Normans* that the fairs of England were moulded into the shape with which we are most familiar. The Norman kings placed themselves largely under the influence of the Papal throne; and it was to the Church, or in the interest of the Church, that nearly all fairs were granted after the Norman Conquest in the eleventh century. It was under John, early in the thirteenth century, that the power of the Church became most pronounced in England, and it is during this reign that most of the existing charters of fairs date.

Trying to harmonize these somewhat conflicting views, it may be supposed that some of our fairs at least were established during the Roman occupation. These were probably largely added to during the Anglo-Saxon period. The Normans admittedly encouraged fairs in the interest of the Church. The fairs of the first and second category were mostly fairs established by prescription, the latter were chiefly established by charter. But in the course of centuries the identity of origin becomes lost. Shepheard, in his "Corporations, Fraternities, and Guilds" (published 1659), says: "It is very usual in these Charters to confirm the old markets and fairs, and to grant new markets and Fairs. Or to change the dayes of the old markets or Fairs. And to grant to the Corporation the

Py-powder Court and Incidents and profits of the Fair." (P. 69.)

I am diſpoſed to believe that many of the early fairs aſſociated with religious obſervances and ceremonies, were in their inception fairs of preſcription only: that is to ſay, fairs which took their origin in paſſing events, without any ſpecial authority, and that upon later occaſions charters were obtained. Bailey ſas that in ancient times amongſt Chriſtians, upon any extraordinary ſolemnity, particularly the anniverſary dedication of a church, tradeſmen uſed to bring and ſell their wares even in the churchyards, eſpecially upon the feſtival of the dedication; as at Weſtminſter, on St. Peter's Day; at London, on St. Bartholomew's; at Durham, on St. Cuthbert's Day, &c.; but riots and diſturbances often happening, by reaſon of the numbers aſſembled together, privileges were by royal charter granted, for various cauſes, to particular places, towns, and places of ſtrength, where magiſtrates preſided, to keep the people in order. ("Pop. Antiq.," Brand.)

Blackſtone ſays:—Fairs and markets, with the tolls belonging to them, can only be ſet up by virtue of the royal grant, or by long and immemorial uſage and preſcription, which preſuppoſes ſuch a grant. The limitation of theſe public reſorts to ſuch time and ſuch place as may be moſt convenient for the neighbourhood forms a part of economics, or domeſtic polity, which, conſidering the kingdom as a large family, and the ſovereign as the maſter of it, he clearly has a right to diſpoſe and order as he pleaſes.

Again, a man may have a right to hold a fair or market, or to keep a boat for the ferrying of paſſengers; and this either by royal grant or by preſcription, from which a royal grant may be preſumed to have been at ſome time conferred. But (unleſs under an Act of Parliament) no other title than theſe will ſuffice; for no fair, market, or ferry can be lawfully ſet up without licenſe from the Crown. On the other hand, a man may, under ſuch titles, lawfully claim to be lord of a fair or market, though he be not the owner of the ſoil on which it is held.

The right to take toll is uſually (though not neceſſarily) a part of the privilege; and the tolls of a fair or market are due either in reſpect of goods ſold there (that is, from the ſeller, not the buyer), or for ſtallage or pickage, or the like, in reſpect of ſtalls or polls fixed in the ſoil.

I have ſeen it ſtated that before the granting of a fair it was cuſtomary to iſſue a writ of *ad quod damnum*, to inquire whether the grant would be prejudicial to any; but I doubt if the practice was at all general.

If I am entitled to hold a fair or market, and another perſon ſets up a fair or market ſo near mine that he does me a prejudice, it is a nuiſance to the freehold which I have in my market or fair. But in order to make this out to be a nuiſance it is neceſſary (1) That my market or fair be the elder, otherwise the nuisance lies at my own door. (2) That the market be erected within the third part of twenty miles from mine. Sir M. Hale conſtrues

the *dicta* or reaſonable day's journey mentioned by Bracton, to be twenty miles; as, indeed, it is uſually underſtood, not only in our own law, but alſo in the civil law, from which we probably borrowed it. So that if the new fair or market be not within ſeven miles of the old one, it is no nuiſance; for it is held reaſonable that every man ſhould have a market within one-third of a day's journey from his own home; that the day being divided into three parts, he may ſpend one part in going, another in returning, and the third in tranſacting his neceſſary buſineſs there. If ſuch market or fair be on the ſame day with mine, it is *primâ facie* a nuiſance to mine, and there needs no proof of it, but the law will intend it to be ſo; but if any other day it *may* be a nuiſance; but of this there muſt be proof.

The ſtatute of Glouceſter (1278) conferred the right of inquiring into the title of all who claimed rights uſually exerciſed by the Crown. Where ſuch rights were queſtioned, the judicial proceſs of *quo warranto* was ſet in motion. One of the principal matters about which inquiſition was frequently made under this ſtatute was the right of holding markets and fairs. This right could (as we have ſeen) only be conferred by royal grant, where preſcription could not be pleaded. In many caſes it had been aſſumed by thoſe who had bought land on which fairs had uſually been held, and who were then taking tolls from merchants which ſhould in juſtice have gone to the King. Much curious information was obtained by means of the inquiſitions conducted under this Act. This was originally recorded in the

*Hundred Rolls*, and it is made free uſe of in this work.

It has been aſſerted that it is not in the King's power to reſume a franchiſe that has been once granted: ſo that a fair once authorized by royal grant, is, by the common law of England, good againſt the King. I have found no caſe wherein this principle is declared; but there is an inſtance which points in a contrary direction: for in 1446-7 (25 Hen. VI.) it was enacted "that all grants of franchiſes, markets, fairs, and other liberties to buy or to ſell within the towns of North Wales made to any Welſhman before this time, ſhall be void and of no effect." Here it was parliament, not the King, revoking the grants. For further legiſlation regarding Welſh Fairs, ſee Chapter V., anno 1534.

Brady (in his famous work on "Boroughs") ſeemed to be of opinion that every free borough had the privilege of a market and fair, with free right to come and go thereto and therefrom, as of courſe (p. 33, ed. 1777). But I diſcover no such inherent right, and where this privilege is ſuſtained it has uſually been included in one of its early charters. Certainly the converſe is not the caſe: that is to ſay, it was in no way cuſtomary that fairs ſhould be limited to boroughs free or otherwiſe. Many were, indeed, granted to ſmall towns, frequently to lords of manors, and commonly to religious houſes; and in various caſes to individuals.

In the next chapter I ſhall examine more in detail the regulations upon our ſtatute rolls regarding fairs.

## CHAPTER III.

### EARLY REGULATIONS AFFECTING FAIRS— ENGLAND.

IT has been attributed to Alfred the Great that amongſt the many wiſe and beneficial meaſures he took for the advancement of this kingdom, was the eſtabliſhment of fairs and markets. I have already ſhown that this is not quite ſo; but certain it is that the firſt general meaſures for the regulation of commerce in England, are dated back to his reign. Hence it was then provided that alien merchants ſhould come only to the "four fairs," and ſhould not remain in England more than forty days. This was in the latter half of the ninth century. But I have already ſhown that fairs were held in other parts of Europe, and in Aſia, centuries earlier than this date. The point of importance in the regulation of Alfred is that foreign merchants were permitted by royal authority to attend theſe Engliſh fairs.

King Ethelred II. (end of tenth and commence-

ment of eleventh centuries) proclaimed that the *ſhips of merchants, or of enemies from the high ſeas, coming with goods into any port ſhould be at peace.* The principle here enunciated, of commerce being deemed an act of peace, is believed to be of high antiquity in Great Britain; but whether it originated here is by no means clear, nor is it material to determine. At later periods the practice has not been continuouſly upheld.

Henry I. granted to the citizens of London (*inter alia*) that they ſhould be free throughout England and the ſea ports from *toll*, paſſage through towns, ports, gates, and bridges; *and leſtage, or a toll paid for freedom to ſell at Fairs.*

*Magna Carta* (1215).—The demand of the Barons preſented to King John embodied the following: "That merchants ſhall have ſafety to go and come, buy and ſell, without any evil tolls, but by antient and honeſt cuſtoms." In the completed *Charter* the actual grant took the following ſhape:

All merchants ſhall have ſafety and ſecurity in coming into England and going out of England, and in ſtaying and in travelling through England, as well by land as by water, to buy and ſell without any unjuſt exactions, according to ancient and right cuſtoms, excepting in time of war, and if they be of a country at war againſt us: and if ſuch are found in our land at the beginning of a war, they ſhall be apprehended without injury of their bodies and goods until it be known to us, or to our Chief Juſticiary, how the merchants of our country are treated who are found in the country at war againſt us; if ours

be in ſafety there, the others ſhall be in ſafety in our land.

The doctrine of international reciprocity is here very clearly ſtated.

Macpherſon ("Annals of Commerce") is of opinion, after an examination of the trading of the chief commercial ports of Great Britain, that by the middle of the twelfth century (A.D. 1156) "the foreign trade was almoſt entirely conducted by foreign merchants;" indeed he declared it to be "evidently" ſo. I expect to be able to ſhow that the great centres of trade at this period were the fairs held in various parts of the kingdom. The caſe of *Sturbridge Fair* (Cambridge) is a remarkable inſtance.

1216.—The firſt Great Charter of Henry III. confirmed the proviſions of *Magna Carter* as to merchants, except in the caſe of thoſe *who had been before publicly prohibited.* The privileges thus accorded to foreign merchants were ſeven. (1) To come into England (2) To depart thereout (3) To remain (4) To travel by land or water (5) To buy and ſell (6) To be free of evil tolls[1] (7) To

[1] The protection from "evil tolls" was alſo a matter of great conſequence. It was to be regarded as a ſecurity from paying ſo large a cuſtom or impoſition upon any goods that the fair profit is loſt therein, and the trade thereby prevented. The original term expreſſive of this is *Mala Tolneta*, the word toll or tolt being derived from the Saxon *Tolnetum*, or *Theoloneum*, which ſignifies a payment in markets, towns, and fairs, for goods and cattle bought and ſold. It alſo ſtands for any manner of cuſtom, ſubſidy, impoſition, or ſum of money taken of the buyer for the importing or exporting of any wares; and

enjoy the ancient cuſtoms. This laſt was of material conſequence, and implied privileges not common to ordinary perſons. The promiſe of freedom from "evil tolls" hardly leſs ſo, as will hereafter appear.

Theſe early privileges accorded to foreign merchants who viſited our ſhores ſeem ſo natural to us, in theſe free-trade times, that we have a difficulty in realizing at the firſt glance the full meaſure of their ſignificance. It may aid us in doing ſo if I review the general regulations regarding foreigners which prevailed (reciprocally) in moſt of the countries of Europe prior to this period (thirteenth century) and in many caſes long thereafter. Every foreigner was anſwerable to the debts, and even crimes of all other foreigners of his own nationality [1]

it may be aſſumed that the words in *Magna Carter* were uſed in their evident ſenſe. The compound word *Mala-tolneta*, which appears in the original text, ſignifies bad or evil tolls, or unjuſt exactions. In the later ſtatutes it is rendered into French by the ancient term *Maletout* (*Vide* R. Thomſon's "Notes on the Great Charters," 1829).

[1] In illuſtration of the early cuſtom of holding foreigners living or trading in England reſponſible for the offences and crimes of other foreigners, the following inſtance may be given. In 1301 a perſon belonging to the houſe of the Spini, of Florence, was killed in a ſquabble with ſome other people belonging to the ſame houſe in England, and the guilty perſon having abſconded, the officers of juſtice ſeized the bodies and goods of other perſons belonging to the company, and alſo (luckily for the merchants), a ſum of money collected by them in Ireland for the *Pope*, and ſome merchandiſe purchaſed on his account. He (the Pope) immediately ſent a Bull to England requiring the liberation of the people and property arreſted ("Fœdera," v. ii., p. 891).

—and the queſtion of nationality was very freely interpreted in ſome ſuch caſes. And in the caſe of the death of a foreign merchant his property in poſſeſſion was either forfeited to the King or fell a prey to the rapacity of the lord of the ſoil in whoſe territory the death occurred.[1] Further, by an early cuſtom of London, merchants giving reference for ſtrangers, who purchaſed goods on the credit of ſuch references, were held liable to pay for the goods ſo obtained. Thus under the cuſtom of merchants, two perſons of the ſame nationality being found in arrear, the whole debt might be charged to one of them—as the creditor might ſelect!

Theſe reſtrictions removed, or greatly modified, it is no wonder that fairs greatly increaſed in numbers and importance.

1235. This ſame monarch Henry III. gave ſpecial permiſſion to the merchants of *Cologne* to attend fairs in all parts of England. This was probably in conſequence of ſome claim from the branch of the Hanſeatic League eſtabliſhed in London, to trade in its corporate capacity excluſively for the cities which belonged to the confederacy. There was another aſſociation of German merchants ſettled in London at this date.

1275. The Firſt Statute of Weſtminſter (c. 23) was intended to remedy the ſtate of primitive juſtice already ſpoken of, and which to a large degree aroſe out of local juriſdictions. Under it no foreign perſon—that is to ſay, one who was not

[1] This practice remained in force in France from the age of Charlemagne down to our own times.

free of the town he viſited—which is of this realm (*i.e.* of England) was to be diſtrained for any debts but his own in any city, burgh, town, market or fair.

1283. The Statute *de Mercatoribus* (11 Edw. I.) was intended to aſſiſt merchants in the recovery of their debts, and thus to encourage them to trade in England. When they ſupplied goods and the debt was acknowledged before royal officers in ſpecified towns, they could be empowered under the King's ſeal to diſtrain for debt in default of payment. At Acton Burnel this new ſcheme was determined on, for trial in London, York, and Briſtol; and after two years it was decreed (*Statutum Mercatorum*, 1285, 13 Edw. I.) that it ſhould be brought into much more extenſive operation by giving ſimilar facilities in many other places, eſpecially in *fairs*, and a much greater number of royal officers were empowered to act in the matter. Theſe privileges were not limited to men from particular towns or countries: all foreign merchants could avail themſelves thereof, except when this kingdom was at war with their native land. The clauſe relating to the "Seal of the Fair" was as follows:—

"And a Seal ſhall be provided that ſhall ſerve for Fairs, and the ſame ſhall be ſent unto every Fair under the King's Seal, by a Clerk ſworn, or by the Keeper of the Fair, and the Seal ſhall be opened before them, and the one piece ſhall be delivered unto the aforeſaid merchants, and the other ſhall remain with the Clerk; and before them, or one of the merchants, if both cannot attend, the Recognizances ſhall be taken as before is ſaid."

In the caſe of London two merchants of the Commonalty ſhould be choſen that ſhould ſwear compliance with this law.

And by a charter of the following year granted to foreign merchants then reſident in England, it was ordained, "that one weight ſhall be kept in every fair and town; that the weigher ſhall ſhow the buyer and ſeller that the beam and ſcales are fair, and that there ſhall be *only one weight and meaſure* in our dominions, and that they be ſtamped with our ſtandard mark." All ſtudents of hiſtory, know how well this ordinance has been obſerved!

By the Statute of Wynton [Winchefter] attributed to the reign of Edw. I., but probably of earlier date it is enacted (c. 6) "And the King commandeth and forbiddeth that from henceforth neither Fairs nor markets be kept in the *Church-yards* for the Honour of the Church."[1]

1321. About this date—reign of Edw. II.—there is ſuppoſed to have been enacted "Articles of the Office of Eſcheatry." Amongſt the duties of this officer of the crown, he was to hold inqueſt (*inter alia*) of markets, fairs, tolls, paſſage-monies, and cuſtoms, unjuſtly levied without licenſe of the King; alſo where, when, and from what time, and how much they are worth by the year. Under the power ſo granted various inquiſitions regarding fairs, and the tolls charged, and the privileges aſſerted, were conducted.

[1] It had before this time been quite cuſtomary to hold fairs in churchyards.

## CHAPTER IV.

### COURTS OF PIEPOWDER.

THESE have been already referred to, and will ariſe in various other parts of this work, as being cloſely aſſociated with fairs.

Theſe Courts, deſignated in the Latin tongue *curia pedis pulverizati*, in the Old French *pied puldreaux*, alike in each caſe, it is ſuppoſed, in reference to, or as typical of the duſty feet of the ſuitors. Some indeed ſay becauſe "juſtice is there done as ſpeedily as duſt can fall from the feet." But without reference to ſuch fanciful derivations they may be ſpoken of as a rough-and-ready mode of adminiſtering juſtice at fairs, markets, &c. There is no record or ordinance by which any ſuch Court was called into exiſtence in this country. They came to us with fairs; they paſſed away with the decay of the commercial uſages of fairs.

Thoſe curious in matters of archæology may conſult a paper hereon by Dr. Pettingall, which appears in "Archæologia," i. pp. 190-203.

Barrington, in his "Obſervations on the Statutes," obſerves that "In the Burrow Laws of Scotland, an alien merchant is called Piedpuldreaux, and likewiſe ane Farand-man, or a man who frequents fairs. The Court of Piepowder is, therefore, to determine diſputes between thoſe who reſort to fairs and theſe kind of Pedlars who generally attend them. *Pied puldreaux* in Old French ſignifies a Pedlar, who gets his livelihood by vending his goods where he can, without any certain or fixed reſidence."

In the "Regiam Majeſtatem," 1609, there is the following: "Gif ane ſtranger merchand travelland throw the Realme, havand nà land, nor reſidence, nor dwelling within the ſchirefdome, bot vaigand fra ane place to ane other, quha therefore is called Pied Puldreaux, or duſtifute."

Hence then the Court of Pie Powder ſignifies in ſimple language a *Court of Pedlars.*

Such Courts were held in the markets of the Romans, as they were in the markets of the Normans, and probably all through the old Roman Europe. But they had yet an earlier origin. Demoſthenes makes it plain that all cauſes relating to the feſtival of Bacchus were heard on the ſpot. Fairs were aſſociated with the Olympic games; and it ſeems clear deſcended from the feſtivities of the Greek Church.

The neceſſity in all fairs of a tribunal which could promptly deal with the differences ariſing amongſt a fleeting population were the ſame, quite irreſpective of where the fair might chance to be held. Again the merchants attending the principal fairs of diffe-

rent countries were in a large degree the ſame. They travelled from country to country. What they found beneficial in one part of the globe was equally ſo in another, and hence became adopted as of courſe. The tribunals of commerce which once exiſted in England, and which ſtill exiſt in various parts of Continental Europe, are analagous to the Courts of Piepowder held at fairs.

In an account of a fair held in the northern region of Lapland as far back as two centuries ago (1681), a Court of Piepowder is recorded as one of its features.

The peculiar conſtitution of the Court has to be kept firmly in view. It had juriſdiction only in commercial queſtions. It tried them before a jury of traders formed on the ſpot. It could entertain a caſe of ſlander, if of merchandiſe or wares exhibited, but not of the merchant or trader who vended the ſame. It could ſit only during fair time; could take cognizance only of things happening during fair time, and within the fair. It could try a thief who had committed robbery in the fair only when he had been captured within its bounds. It might hold pleas for amounts, in later times, above forty ſhillings; and its judgments could be deferred and enforced at the next fair. So firmly indeed had cuſtom defined the powers of theſe Courts, that it has been well ſaid, even the King himſelf if he were ſitting as judge in ſuch a Court, could not extend them.

*Specific Legiſlation.*—1478. There having been many abuſes committed in the Courts *Piepowder*

held at the fairs in England, chiefly by the avarice and injuſtice of their ſtewards, bailiffs, and others, whoſe province it was to hold the courts and adminiſter impartial juſtice in all caſes ariſing during the continuance, and within the juriſdiction, of the fairs: but who took cognizance of contracts and treſpaſſes unconnected with the fairs, and frequently having no foundation in truth. Theſe abuſes began to have the effect of preventing merchants from attending the fairs: whereby the people of the country were deprived of the convenience of purchaſing goods; and the lords of the fairs loſt their cuſtomary profits. The entire ſubject came before parliament, and a meaſure intended for relief reſulted, which I ſhall now review in detail:

17 Edw. IV. c. 2.—*Item*, Whereas divers Fairs be holden & kept in this Realm, ſome by Preſcription allowed before Juſtices in Eyre, & ſome by grant of our Lord the King that now is, & ſome by the grant of his noble Progenitors & Predeceſſors, & to every of the ſame Fairs is of right pertaining a Court of Pypowders, to miniſter in the ſame due Juſtice in this behalf; in w^h^ Court it hath been all times accuſtomed, that every perſon coming to the ſ^d^ Fairs ſh^d^ have lawful remedy of all manner of Contracts, Treſpaſſes, Covenants, Debts, & other Deeds under or done within any of the ſame Fairs, during the time of the ſame Fairs, & within the juriſdiction of the ſame, & to be tried by merchants being of the ſame Fair; w^h^ Courts at this day be miſuſed by Stewards. . . .

And ſometimes, by the device of evil diſpoſed

people ſeveral ſuits be feigned to trouble them to whom they bear evil will, to the intent that they for Lucre may have favorable Inqueſts of thoſe that come to the ſ^d^ Fairs, where they take their actions . . . whereby the Lords of the ſame Fairs do loſe great profit by the not coming of divers merchants to the fairs . . . & alſo the Commons be unſerved of ſuch ſtuff & merchandiſe as w^t^ otherwiſe come to the ſaid Fairs

For remedy whereof it was Ordained & Eſtabliſhed that from the firſt day of May then next enſuing no Steward, Under-ſteward, Bailiff, Commiſſary, nor other miniſter of any ſuch Courts of Pypowders ſhould hold plea upon any action at the Suit of any perſon or perſons, unleſs the Plaintiff or plaintiffs, or his or their attorney, in the preſence of the defendant or defendants do ſwear upon the holy Evangeliſts, upon the Declaration, that the Contract or other Deed contained in the ſ^d^ Declaration was made or committed within the Fair & within the Time of the ſ^d^ Fair where he taketh his action, & within the bounds & juriſdiction of the ſame Fair. The Defendant might plead that the cauſe did not ariſe out of the Fair. If the plaintiff refuſed to ſwear the defendant ſh^d^ be quit. The penalty on a Steward for holding a Court contrary to this act 100½ ſhillings. This act to be Proclaimed, & was to continue until the firſt day of the next Parliament " Provided always, That this act nor anything compriſed in the ſame act be hurtful & prejudicial to William now Biſhop of Durham, nor to his ſucceſſors within the Liberty & Franchiſe of the Biſhop-

rick of Durham." This act was amended in ſlight details by 1 Rich. III. c. 6 (1483). See Chap. V.

*Appeal.*—1779. By the 19 George III. c. 70 right of appeal was given againſt the judgments of any of the inferior courts—and hence againſt thoſe of the Courts of Piepowder—by means of a writ of error to the ſuperior courts at Weſtminſter; and ſuch courts were to have the right of iſſuing writs of execution in aid of their proceſſes after judgment not appealed againſt. This largely extended the efficacy of this particular court, as goods of the defendant—not in the fair, and therefore beyond the ancient juriſdiction of this court—could now be levied upon.

## CHAPTER V.

### LEGISLATION FOR FAIRS IN ENGLAND.

*Duration of Fairs.*

1328.

THERE was enacted 2 Edw$^{d}$. III. c. 15. "No perſon ſhall keep a Fair longer than he ought to do," which was as follows:

Item, it is eſtabliſhed That it ſhall be commanded to all the Sheriffs of England & elſewhere, where need ſhall require to cry and publiſh within Liberties & without, that all the Lords [of the ſoil] w$^{h}$ have Fairs, be it for yielding certain Ferm [Rent?] for the ſame to the King or otherwiſe, ſhall hold the ſame for the time that they ought to hold it, & no longer; that is to ſay, [1] ſuch as have them by the King's Charter granted them, for the time limited by the ſ$^{d}$ Charters (2) and alſo they that have them without Charter, for the time that they ought to hold them of Right. (3) And that every Lord at the beginning of his Fair ſhall there do cry & publiſh how long the fair ſhall endure, to the intent that merchants ſhall not be at the ſame

Fairs over the time ſo publiſhed, upon pain to be greviouſly puniſhed towards the King (4) Nor the ſ^d^ Lords ſhall not hold them over the due Time upon pain to ſeize the Fairs into the King's hands, there to remain till they have made a fine to the King for the offence, after it be duly found, that the Lords held the ſame Fairs longer than they ought, or that the merchants have ſitten above the time ſo cried & publiſhed. See 1331.

1331. The 5 Edw. III. c. 5—"The Penalty if any do ſell Ware at a Fair after it is ended" was as follows:

*Item*, Where it is contained in the Statute made at Northampton [1328] . . . that the Lords w^h^ have Fairs by Charters or otherwiſe, ſhall hold them during the Time that they ought to do, & no longer upon Pain to ſeize ſuch Fairs into the King's hands (2) & that every Lord at the Beginning of his Fair *ſhall proclaim how long the fair ſhall endure;* (3) and in the ſame Statute is no certain punishment ordained againſt the merchants if they ſell after the time, (4) it is accorded, That the ſ^d^ merchants after the ſ^d^ time ſhall cloſe their Booths & Stalls without putting any manner of Ware or Merchandiſe to ſell there. (5) And if it be found, that any merchant from henceforth ſell any Ware or merchandiſe at the ſ^d^ Fairs after the ſ^d^ Time, ſuch Merchant ſhall forfeit to me Lord the King the double value of that w^h^ is ſold (6) and every Man that will ſue for our Lord the King, ſhall be received, & ſhall have the fourth part of that w^h^ ſhall be loſt at his ſuit.

Macpherſon ["Hiſt. of Commerce"] commenting upon this act ſays *Fairs were "the ſeats of moſt of the inland trade of the kingdom."*

1448. The 27 Henry VI. c. 5 was directed againſt "the Scandal of holding Fairs & markets on Sundays & upon High Feaſt Days." This practice had in earlier times been very general.

*Attempted Limitation of the Commerce of Fairs.*—1487. The Common Council of London, in order to oblige the people to reſort to the City for their purchaſes, had made an ordinance that no citizen ſhould carry goods for ſale to any fair or market out of the city. The aſſortment of goods in London (ſays Macpherſon) appears to have been ſo commanding that thoſe intereſted in fairs of Saliſbury, Briſtol, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely, Coventry, and other places, and alſo the people of the country in general, were alarmed, and repreſented to Parliament the deſtruction of the fairs, and the great hardſhip of being obliged to travel to London to procure chalices, books, veſtments, and other church ornaments, and alſo victuals for the time of Lent, linen cloth, woollen cloth, braſs, pewter, bedding, oſmond, iron, flax, wax, and other neceſſaries. The London ordinance was thereupon annulled by Parliament; and the citizens were permitted to go with their goods to the fairs and markets in every part of England. ("Hiſt. of Com." i. p. 708.)

The act by which this was effected is 3 Hen. VII. c. 9—*Freemen of London may carry their wares to any Fairs or Markets*—which recites as follows:

"Humbly ſhowen and prayen unto your High-

" neſs, your true & faithful Commons of this your
" your Realm of *England*, That where the Citizens
" & Freemen of the City of London have uſed out
" of time & mind to go, carry & lede their mer-
" chandiſe & ware unto all Fairs & markets at their
" Liberty of the ſ^d^ City; now of late time the Mayor,
" Aldermen, & Citizens of the City of *London* have
" made & enacted an Ordinance within the ſame City,
" upon a great Pain, that no man that is a freeman or
" a Citizen of the ſ^d^ City ſhall go or come to any Fair
" or Market out of the ſame City of London, with
" any manner of ware or merchandiſe to ſell or to
" barter, to this Intent, that all Buyers & merchants
" ſhould reſort to the ſ^d^ City to buy their ware
" & merchandiſes of the ſ^d^ Citizens & Freemen of
" London aforeſaid, becauſe of their ſingular Lucre
" & Avail; w^h^ Ordinance, if it ſhould hold as is
" before expreſſed, *ſhall be to the utter deſtruction of*
" *all other Fairs & markets within this your Realm*,
" w^h^ God defend: for there be many fairs for the com-
" mon weal of your ſaid liege People, as at *Saliſbury*,
" *Briſtol*, *Oxenforth*, *Cambrigge*, *Netyngham*, *Ely*,
" *Coventre*, & at many other places *where Lords*
" *Spiritual*, *& Temporal*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Knights*,
" *Eſquires*, *Gentlemen*, *& your ſaid Commons of Every*
" *Country hath their common reſort*, *to buy & purvey*
" *many things that be good & profitable*, as Ornaments
" of Holy Church, Chalice, Books, Veſtments, &
" other ornaments of Holy Church aforeſ^d^, & alſo
" for Houſehold, as victual for the time of Lent,
" & other ſtuff, as Linnen Cloth, Woollen Cloth,
" Braſs, Pewter, Bedding, Oſmonde, Iron, Flax, &

" Wax, & many other neceſſary Things, the w^h^
" might not be forborn amongſt your ſaid liege
" People; but, by the ſ^d^ Ordinance every man
" willing to buy any of the premiſſes, ſhall be courted
" to come to the ſ^d^ City of London, to their import-
" able Coſts & Charges, w^h^ if the ſ^d^ act ſhould en-
" dure, ſhall grow great hurt & prejudice to the
" common weal of this your Realm, & ſhall cauſe
" many pernicious ſtrifes & debates between your
" ſaid liege people, & the ſaid Mayor, Aldermen &
" Citizens in time to come, by the making the ſ^d^
" Ordinance, the w^h^ is thought may not continue
" & ſtand with good charity, the premiſſes con-
" ſidered, wherefore it may pleaſe your ſaid High-
" neſs moſt noble & abundant Grace, in conſidera-
" tion of the Hurt likely to grow of & by the
" premiſes, that it may be enacted:

The King Lords and Commons therefore enacted that every freeman and citizen of London then or thereafter, might go with his victual ware or merchandiſe, at his or their liberty to any fair or market that ſhould pleaſe him within the realm of England, any act, ſtatute or ordinance to the contrary notwithſtanding. Any diſregard of the ſtatute to incur a penalty of £10 to the King.

1496. The Company of Merchant-Adventurers of England which was ſaid to have been in exiſtence for nearly two centuries—although not actually chartered until 1505—took ſteps about this period calculated to interfere with the freedom of Britiſh merchants to attend fairs and marts in foreign countries.

The merchants who traded on their own individual account reſiding in various parts of England and of the City of London, ſent up a petition to the Houſe of Commons, (as againſt the claims of the ſaid Company of Merchant-Adventurers) wherein it was ſet forth that they traded beyond the ſea with their goods and merchandiſe, as well into Spain, Portugal, Bretagne, Ireland, Normandy, France, Seville, Venice, Dantzic, Eaſtland, Friſeland and many other parts—the geography is often a little hazy in theſe early documents—there to buy and ſell and make their exchanges, according to the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe parts: every one trading as ſeemed moſt to his advantage, without ſanction, fine, impoſition or contribution, to be had or taken of them, or any of them, to for, or by, any Engliſh perſon or perſons. And in like ſort they, before this time had uſed, and of right ought to have and uſe the like commerce into the coaſts of *Flanders*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, and other adjacent parts, under the obedience of the Archduke of Burgundy; in which places are uſually kept the univerſal marts or fairs, four times in the year; to which marts all Engliſhmen, and divers other nations in times paſt, have uſed to reſort, there to ſell their own commodities, and freely to buy ſuch merchandiſe as they had occaſion for: till now of late, the Fellowſhip of Mercers, and other merchants and adventurers, dwelling and being free within the City of London by confederacy amongſt themſelves, for their own ſingular profit, contrary to every Engliſhman's liberty, to the liberty of the ſaid mart there,

and contrary to all law, reaſon, charity, right and conſcience have made an ordinance among themſelves to the prejudice of all other Engliſhmen, that no Engliſhman reſorting to the ſaid mart, ſhall either buy or ſell any merchandiſe there, unleſs he ſhall firſt have compounded and made fine with the ſaid Fellowſhip of Merchants of London, at their pleaſure; upon pain of forfeiture to the ſaid Fellowſhip of ſuch their ſaid merchandiſe. Which fine, impoſition, and exaction, at the beginning, when firſt taken, was demanded by colour of the *Fraternity of St. Thomas Becket;* at which time it was only an old noble ſterling. And ſo by colour of ſuch feigned holineſs, it hath been ſuffered to be taken of a few years paſt: it was afterwards increaſed to 100 ſhillings, Flemiſh; but now the ſaid Fellowſhip of London take of every Engliſhman or young merchant, being there, at his firſt coming £40 ſterling for a fine, to ſuffer him to buy, and ſell his own goods. By reaſon whereof, all merchants not of the ſaid Fellowſhip, do withdraw themſelves from the ſaid marts: whereby the woollen cloth of this realm, which is one of the greateſt commodities of the ſame, as well as ſundry other Engliſh commodities of the ſame, as well as ſundry other Engliſh commodities, are not ſold and got off as in times paſt, but are for want of ſale thereof, in divers parts, where ſuch clothes are made, conveyed to London, and there ſold at an undervalued price, even below what they coſt the makers. Moreover the merchandiſe of thoſe foreign parts, imported by the ſaid Fellowſhip, is ſold to your complainants and

other ſubjects at ſo high a price that the buyers cannot live thereupon; by reaſon whereof all the cities and towns of the realm are falling into great poverty, ruin and decay: and the King's cuſtoms and ſubſidies, and the navy of the land greatly decreaſed.

It was therefore enacted (12 Hen. VII. c. 6) that all Engliſhmen from henceforth ſhould and might freely reſort to the Coaſts of *Flanders*, *Holland*, Zealand, Brabant, and other parts adjoining, under the obedience of the Archduke; and at their marts or fairs there, ſell their merchandiſe freely, without exaction, fine, impoſition, or contribution taken or received of any of them by the ſaid Fraternity or Fellowſhip, excepting only the ſum of ten marks [£6 13*s.* 4*d.*] ſterling, on pain of forfeiting £20 for every time they take more; and ſhall alſo forfeit to the perſon ſo impoſed on ten times ſo much as contrary to this act was taken of him. See 1554.

*Welſh Fairs.*—1534. There was enacted 26 Hen. VIII. c. 6—*The Bill concerning Councils in Wales*—which recited: "Foraſmuch as the people "of *Wales*, & the marches of the ſame, not dread- "ing the good & wholeſome Laws & Statutes "of this Realm, have of long time continued & "perſevered in Perpetration & Commiſſion of divers "& manifold Thefts, Murthers, Rebellions, wilful "Burning of Houſes & other ſcelerous Deeds & "abominable malefacts, to the high diſpleaſure of "God, Inquietation of the Kings well-diſpoſed ſub- "jects, & Diſturbance of the Public Weal, w^h^ "malefacts & ſcelerous Deeds be ſo rooted &

" fixed in the ſame People, that they be not like to " ceaſe unleſs ſome ſharp correction & Puniſhment " for Redreſs & Amputation of the Premiſes be " provided, according to the Demerits of the " offenders." Whereupon it was enacted (*inter alia*) :

That no perſon or perſons dwelling or reſident within *Wales* or the Lordſhips marches of the ſame, of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition ſoever he or they be of, coming, reſorting, or repairing unto any Seſſions or Court to be holden within *Wales* or any Lordſhips, marches, of the ſame ſhall bring or bear, or cauſe to be brought or born to the ſame Seſſions or Court or to any place within the diſtance of two miles from the ſame Seſſions or Court, nor to any Town, Church, *Fair*, Market or other congregation, except it be upon a Hute or Outcry made of any Felony or Robbery done or perpetrated, nor in the Highways in affray of the King's Peace, or the Kings liege People, any Bill, Long-bow, Croſs-bow, Hand-gun, Sword, Staff, Dagger, Halbert, Moreſpike, Spear, or any other manner of weapon, Proof-coat or Armour defenſive, upon pain of forfeiture of the ſame and of impriſonment and fine, except permiſſion by given by the proper authorities authoriſed thereto.

*Robberies in Fairs.*—1552. The 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 9—*An Act for the taking away of the Benefit of Clergy* for certain offenders recites: (3) " And " where alſo it hath been in queſtion & doubted, " that if ſuch Robberies & Felonies happen to be " committed & done in any Booth or Booths, Tent

" or Tents in any Fair or market, the Owner of the " ſame, his wife, Children or Servants happening " to be within the ſame at the time of the com- " mitting of ſuch Felonies, & put in fear & dread, " the offenders therein being found guilty after the " Laws of this Realm, ſhould not loſe the Benefit " of Clergy."

Whereupon it was enacted that perſons ſo offending ſhould not be entitled to benefit of Clergy, but ſhould ſuffer death in ſuch manner and form as was mentioned in the act 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1, for Robberies and Felonies committed and done in Dwelling houſes and Dwelling places, the Owner and Dweller in the ſame, his wife children or ſervants being within the ſame, and put in fear and dread, without having any reſpect or conſideration whether the owner or dweller in ſuch booths and tents his wife, children or servants being in the ſame Booths or Tents at the time of ſuch Robberies and Felonies committed, ſhall be ſleeping or waking.

*Reſtricting the dealing in Fairs.*—1554. By the 1ſt and 2nd Philip and Mary, c. 7—*An Act for that Perſons dwelling in the Country ſhall not ſell divers Wares in Cities or Towns Corporate by retail*—it is recited: Where before this time the ancient Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate and market Towns (within this Realm of *England*) have been very populous, and chiefly inhabited with merchants, Artificers, and Handicraftſmen, during which time the Children in thoſe Cities were civilly brought up and inſtructed, and alſo the ſaid cities &c. kept in good order and obeſience, and the inhabiters of the

ſame well ſet on work and kept from idleneſs. (2) By reaſon whereof, the ſaid Cities &c. did then proſper in riches and great wealth, and were as then not only able to ſerve and furniſh the King and Queens majeſties, and their noble progenitors, Kings of this Realm, as well with great numbers of good able perſons and well furniſhed, meet for the wars, as alſo then charged, and yet chargeable with great fee-farms, *Quindiſmes*, Taxes, and divers other payments to the King and Queen's Majeſties, which at this preſent they be not able to pay and bear, but to their utter Undoing, being few in number to pay and bear the ſame; but alſo the ſame Cities &c. are likely to come very ſhortly to utter deſtruction, ruin and decay; (3) by reaſon whereof the occupiers, Linendrapers, woollen-drapers, Haberdaſhers and Grocers dwelling in the Counties out of the ſaid Cities &c. do not only occupy the art and myſtery of the ſaid Sciences in the places where they dwell and inhabit, but alſo come into the ſaid Cities &c. and there ſell their wares, and take away the Relief of the inhabitants of the ſaid Cities &c. to the great decay and utter undoing of the inhabitants of the ſame, if ſpeedy reformation therein be not had in time convenient. (4) For remedy whereof and for the better amendment of the ſaid Cities &c. to the end that the ſame Cities &c. may be better able to pay the ſaid Fee-farms, and alſo to bear the other ordinary charges within the ſame Cities &c. and to furniſh the King and Queen's majeſties with numbers of able perſons, like as they have heretofore done in times paſt, in times of War.

It was enacted, That any perſon or perſons which do now inhabit and dwell, or hereafter ſhall inhabit and dwell in the Country anywhere, or County within this Realm of *England*, out of any of the ſaid Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate or Market Towns, from and after the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the archangel next coming, *ſhall not ſell or cauſe to be ſold by retail*, any woollen cloth, Linen Cloth, Haberdaſhery wares, Grocery wares, Mercery wares, at or within any of the ſaid Cities &c., or within the Suburbs or Liberties of the ſaid Cities, &c., within the ſaid Realm of England (*except it be in open Fairs*) upon pain of forfeiting 6*s*. 8*d*. and the whole Wares ſo ſold, proffered and offered to be ſold contrary to the form and intent of this act as above is ſaid. But all ſuch perſons might ſell their products wholeſale; and perſons dwelling in the Country, but afterwards becoming free of any City &c. would be thus placed outſide the operation of this act. And perſons might ſell by retail all manner of Cloth, Linen or Woollen of our making anywhere notwithſtanding this act. "Provided alway that this act or anything therein contained ſhall not be prejudicial or hurtful to the Liberties and Privileges of the Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, or either of them."

*Horſe Fairs.*—1555. The 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 7 related to the facilities for dealing in ſtolen horſes, which it was attempted to check by having duly appointed fairs for ſuch dealings. This Act gave riſe to the holding of "Horſe Fairs" ſeparately from other fairs. The Act 31 of Eliza-

beth c. 12 (1589) required a record to be kept of all horſes ſold at fairs.

*Plague.*—1625. The importance rightly attached from a ſanitary point of view to the gathering of large multitudes together at fairs is manifeſted in a very ample degree in a Royal Proclamation iſſued by Charles I. from his Palace at Woodſtock on the 4th Auguſt:

The Kings moſt excellent majeſty, out of his Princely and Chriſtian care of his loving ſubjects, that no good means of Providence may be neglected to ſtay the further ſpreading of the great infection of the Plague, doth find it neceſſary to prevent all occaſions of public concourſe of his people for the preſent, till it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God of His goodneſs, to ceaſe the violence of the Contagion which is very diſperſed into many parts of the Kingdom already ; *And therefore remembering that there are at hand two Fairs of ſpecial note and unto which there is uſually extraordinary reſort out of all parts of the Kingdom*, the one kept in Smithfield, near the City of London, called Bartholomew Fair, and the other near Cambridge called Stourbridge Fair, *the holding whereof at the uſual times would in all likelihood be the occaſion of further danger and infection in other parts of the land*, which yet in Gods mercy ſtand clear and free, hath, with the advice of his Majeſty's Privy Council, thought good, by this open declaration of his pleaſure and neceſſary commandment, not only to admoniſh and require all his loving ſubjects to forbear to reſort for this time to either of the ſaid two fairs, or *to*

*any other fairs within* 50 *miles of the ſaid City of London*, but alſo to enjoin the Lords of the ſaid Fairs, and others intereſted in them, or any of them, that they all forbear to hold the ſaid Fairs, or anything appertaining so them, at all times accuſtomed or at any time, till by God's goodneſs and mercy the infection of the Plague ſhall ceaſe, or be ſo much diminiſhed, that his majeſty ſhall give order for holding them; upon pain of ſuch puniſhment as, for a contempt ſo much concerning the univerſal ſafety of his people, they ſhall be adjudged to deſerve, which they muſt expect to be inflicted with all ſeverity: His Majeſty deſire being ſo intentive for preventing the general Infection threatened, as he is reſolved to ſpare no man that ſhall be the cauſe of diſperſing the ſame. And to that purpoſe doth hereby further charge and enjoin, under like penalty, all citizens and inhabitants of the ſaid City of London, *that none of them ſhall repair to any fair held within any part of his kingdom*, until it ſhall pleaſe God to ceaſe the infection now reigning amongſt them: His Majeſty's intention being, and ſo hereby declaring himſelf, that no Lord of any Fairs, or others intereſted in the profits thereof, ſhall by this neceſſary and temporary reſtraint, receive any prejudice in the right of his or their Fairs, or liberties thereunto belonging, anything before mentioned notwithſtanding.

Earlier proclamations and orders had prevented the holding or had curtailed the period of St. Bartholomew fairs on ſeveral occaſions viz. 1348, 1593, and 1603; and other fairs had likewiſe been ſtayed or

poſtponed. Theſe will be noticed in dealing with ſuch fairs ſpecifically.

1630. The Plague was prevailing in Cambridge, and a Royal Proclamation was iſſued, dated Aug. 1, prohibiting the holding of the "three great Fairs of ſpecial note, unto which there is an extraordinary reſort from all parts of the Kingdom" viz. thoſe of Bartholomew, Sturbridge, and Southwark.

*Coinage.*—1662. The preceding year was that of the Reſtoration, and it was by Proclamation ordered that the coinage of the Commonwealth ſhould be no longer current than the laſt day of November. The "Kingdom's Intelligencer" for Aug. 22-25 this year contained the following: "Whitehall Aug. 23. There hath been a diſcovery of divers perſons who have coined both gold and ſilver, and of other perſons who have vended the ſame in great quantities &c. intending to utter the ſame to Clothiers and at Fairs; which is publiſhed to an end that honeſt perſons may not be deceived by receiving ſuch monies."

*Sale of Printed Matter, &c.*—1698. In the 9 and 10 William III. c. 27—*An Act for Licenſing Hawkers and Pedlars* &c. ſection 9 is as follows: Provided always . . . That this Act or anything contained ſhall not Extend to Prohibit any perſons from ſelling of any Acts of Parliament, Forms of Prayer, Proclamations, Gazettes, licenſed Almanacks or other Printed Papers, licenſed by authority, or any Fiſh, Fruits or Victuals; nor to hinder any perſon or perſons, who are the real workers or makers of any Goods or Wares within the Kingdom

of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or his her or their Children, Apprentices, Agents or Servants, to ſuch real Workers and makers of ſuch Goods or Wares only, from carrying abroad, expoſing to Sale, or ſelling any of the ſaid Goods and Wares of his, her, or their, own making in any Public Mart, Fairs, Markets, or Elſewhere; nor any Tinkers, Coopers, Glaziers, Plummers, Harneſs-menders, or other perſons actually trading in mending kettles, Tubs, Houſehold Goods or Harneſs whatſoever, from going about and carrying with them proper materials for mending the ſame.

And by Section 12 it is further enacted: That nothing herein contained ſhall extend or be conſtrued to extend to hinder any perſon or perſons from Selling or expoſing to ſale any ſorts of Goods or Merchandiſes, in any public mart, Market, or Fair within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales* and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, but that ſuch perſon or perſons may do therein as they lawfully might have done before the making of this act; anything herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

*Altering the Calendar.*—1751. Under 24 Geo. II. c. 23—*An Act for Regulating the Commencement of the Year; and for correcting the Calendar now in uſe*, it was provided Section 4 (*inter alia*) that the terms for holding and keeping of all markets, fairs and marts, "whether for the ſale of Goods or Cattle, or for the hiring of Servants, or for any other purpoſe, w^h^ are either fixed to certain nominal

days of the month, or depending upon the beginning, or any certain day of any month, & all Courts incident & belonging to, or uſually holden or kept with any ſuch Fairs or Marts, ſhould be holden & kept upon or according to the ſame natural days upon or according to w^h^ the ſame ſh^d^ have been ſo kept or holden in caſe this act had not been made."

This act was amended by 25 Geo. II. c. 30, which enacted that all ſuch events as before enumerated were to take place "according to the new Calendar."

## CHAPTER VI.

### MODERN LEGISLATION.

1839—1874.

IN the 2nd and 3rd Vict. c. 47—*An Act for the Further Improving the Police in and near the Metropolis*—it is provided that Inquiries may be made regarding Fairs within the Metropolitan Police District, alike as to the authority to hold such Fair, and also as to the time during which it may be holden. If the authority for holding the Fair be doubtful the owner or occupier of the ground may be summoned to show his right and title to hold such Fair: and if the Fair be declared unlawful, then Booths &c. may be removed. But the owner or occupier by entering into recognizances, may reserve the question of the right or title to hold such Fair, to be tried in the Court of Queen's Bench—see 1868.

1843. The 6 and 7 Vict. c. 68—*An Act for Regulating Theatres*—recites "Whereas it is expedient "that the Laws now in force for regulating "Theatres and Theatrical Performances be repealed,

" and other Proviſions be enacted in their ſtead." And ſection 23 is as follows: And be it enacted that in this act the word "Stage-play" ſhall be taken to include every Tragedy, Comedy, Farce, Opera, Burletta, Interlude, Melodrama, Pantomime, or other entertainment of the Stage, or any part thereof: Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to apply to any Theatrical Repreſentation in any Booth or Show which by the Juſtices of the Peace, or other Perſons having authority in that behalf, ſhall be allowed in any lawful Fair, Feaſt, or cuſtomary meeting of the like kind. This act was only to extend to Great Britain.

1844. The 7 and 8 Vict. c. 24—*An Act for Aboliſhing the Offences of Foreſtalling, Regrating, and Engroſſing, and for repealing certain Statutes paſſed in Reſtraint of Trade*—enacts (ſection 4) " That nothing in this act ſhall be conſtrued to " apply to the offence of knowingly and fraudulently " ſpreading or conſpiring to ſpread any falſe rumour, " with intent to enhance or decry the Price of any " goods or merchandiſe, or to the offence of pre- " venting or endeavouring to prevent by Force or " threats any goods, wares, or merchandiſe being " brought to any Fair or Market, but that every " ſuch offence ſhall be inquired of, tried, and " puniſhed as if this act had not been made."

1847. There was enacted 10 and 11 Vict. c. 14—*An Act for conſolidating in One Act certain Proviſions uſually contained in Acts for Conſtructing or Regulating Markets and Fairs*—which however was only

to extend to ſuch markets or fairs as ſhould be authoriſed by any Act of Parliament hereafter to be paſſed, which ſhould declare this Act to be incorporated therewith; and then all clauſes of this Act, except ſo far as they might be varied or excepted from ſuch Act were to apply. The details of this meaſure will fall to be reviewed more in detail under MARKETS.

1868. There was enacted 31 and 32 Vict. c. 51—*An Act to amend the Laws relating to Fairs in England and Wales*—under which "in caſe it ſhould appear to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, upon repreſentation duly made to him by the magiſtrates of any Petty Seſſional Diſtrict, within which any Fair is held, or by the owner of any Fair in England and Wales, that it would be for the convenience and advantage of the Public that any ſuch Fair ſhall be held in each year on ſome day or days other than thoſe on which ſuch Fair is uſed to be held, it ſhall be lawful for the Secretary of State for the Home Department to order that ſuch Fair ſhall be held on ſuch other day or days as he ſhall think fit." Provided notice of ſuch repreſentation be duly adverti ſed, and alſo notice of order as therein provided. (See 1873.)

A act of the ſame ſeſſion (c. 12) gave powers to facilitate the alteration of days upon which and of places at which fairs might be held in *Ireland.* It was upon the ſame lines as the preceding.

Another meaſure of the ſame ſeſſion (c. 106)—*An Act for the Prevention of the holding of unlawful Fairs within the Limits of the Metropolitan Police*

*Diſtrict*—provides that where any Fair is holden or notice given of any Fair propoſed to be holden on any ground within the Metropolitan Police Diſtrict, other than that on which a Fair has been holden during each of the ſeven years immediately preceding, it ſhould be competent for the Commiſſioner of Police to cauſe inquiry to be made as to right and title to hold ſuch Fair, after the manner provided by the act of 1839. This is deſignated "The Metropolitan Fairs Act 1868."

1871. There was enacted 34 Vict. c. 12—*An Act to further Amend the Law relating to Fairs in England and Wales*—which recites: "Whereas cer-"tain of the Fairs held in England & Wales are "unneceſſary, are the cauſe of grievous immorality, "and are very injurious to the inhabitants of the "Towns in which ſuch Fairs are held, and it is there-"fore expedient to make proviſion to facilitate the "abolition of ſuch Fairs." It is then provided that the Secretary of State may on repreſentation of magiſtrates with conſent of owner, order fairs to be aboliſhed. The machinery being the ſame as under the Act of 1839 applying to the Metropolitan Police Diſtrict. This Act is known as "The Fairs Act, 1871."

1872. The Local Government Board (Ireland) Act 1872 gave (35 and 36 Vict. c. 69, ſection 10) powers to the governing body of any town, being the owners of any fair held therein (under the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1871) with the conſent of two thirds of the members of ſuch governing body, and with the conſent of the Local Govern-

ment Board—and of any perſon being the owner of any fair, with the conſent of the laſt named body—to alter and fix the days for holding fairs. Notices being given as therein preſcribed.

1873. The Act of 1868 was repealed, but almoſt preciſely ſimilar proviſions were re-enacted by 36 and 37 Vict. c. 37. The term "owner" (uſed as in the previous act and in this) was defined to mean any perſon or perſons, or body of companies, or body corporate, entitled to hold any fair, whether in reſpect of the ownerſhip of any lands or tenements, or under any charter, letters patent, or otherwiſe howſoever.

This meaſure was not to apply to *Scotland* or *Ireland*.

1874. There are a great number of acts relating to the ſale of Intoxicating Liquors at Fairs and Races. The lateſt 37 and 38 Vict. c. 49 (1874) by ſection 18, enacts that "occaſional Licences" are required in all ſuch caſes, except where the ordinary licenſed premiſes fall within the boundaries of ſuch fair or race ground.

# STURBRIDGE FAIR.

## CHAPTER VII.

### ORIGIN.

THE origin of this Fair—like that of moſt of the great fairs of the world—is involved in obſcurity. The firſt trace of it is found in a charter granted about 1211 by King John to the Lepers of the Hoſpital of St. Mary Magdalen at Sturbridge, by Cambridge—a fair to be held in the Cloſe of the Hoſpital on the Vigil and Feaſt of the Holy Croſs.

The Commiſſioners appointed by Edward I. to make inquiry into the rights and revenue of the Crown, viſited Cambridge; and concerning its ſeveral markets and fairs reported (*inter alia*) the exiſtence of this fair to which fact I ſhall make further reference, under date 1278.

Whatever its origin, it became in a comparatively ſhort time after the period of which I am now ſpeaking the moſt important fair held in Great

Britain, and ſome writers have declared—without much apparent information to guide them—in the world. The incidents in its hiſtory are ſo remarkable, and throw ſo much light upon the cuſtoms of our forefathers, that I propoſe to give them in conſiderable detail. They have been brought together from various ſources—the chief being Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," compiled by Charles Henry Cooper, F.S.A., who held the office of Town Clerk, and who conſequently had unreſtricted acceſs to the records. The "Hiſtory and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey," 1786, has been largely conſulted. While the ample notes appended to the "Life of Ambroſe Bonwicke," as edited by Prof. John E. B. Mayor, M.A., 1870, have been made available. I have followed as beſt ſuited to the circumſtances, a ſtrictly chronological arrangement.

As queſtions continually ariſe in the progreſs of our record regarding the rights of the town of Cambridge over the fair, it will be well here briefly to indicate how theſe may have ariſen. In the inquiſition of the Commiſſioners already referred to, it is recorded that "the keepers of this Hoſpital hold twenty four acres and a half of land in Cambridge field, for the ſupport of the Lepers therein dwelling according to ancient right and cuſtom." From other ſources it appears that the Hoſpital was at the diſpoſal of the burgeſſes of Cambridge previous to 1245; but that about this time Hugh de Northwold, the then Biſhop of Ely "unjuſtly got the patronage of it." The burgeſſes ſtill claimed that the advowſon of the Hoſpital "be-

longed by right to them." The fact probably being that the hoſpital was eſtabliſhed by the town, before it was converted into a religious foundation; that upon ſuch converſion the Church claimed ſole juriſdiction; but as the original grant of land was not relinquiſhed the townſmen ſtill aſſerted their intereſt; and it will be ſeen, in the end—and after centuries of conflict—obtained it. See 1544.

There is a further element of conflict, of a far more pertinacious character than the preceding, running almoſt entirely through our ſix centuries of record—and this is with the Univerſity, as diſtinguiſhed from the Town, of Cambridge. It was the cuſtom to grant to Univerſity towns very large powers regarding the food ſupplies, *i.e.* the control of the markets; as alſo, and neceſſarily, the control of the morals, and therefore the amuſements, of the ſcholars. Such a fair as that of Sturbridge affected alike the food ſupplies, and the moral diſcipline of the ſtudents; and hence the whole machinery of the Univerſity was put in force to ſecure and maintain control. It is in this view that many of the details of the Univerſity Proclamation of the Fair (ſee 1548) can alone be explained. On the other hand the Town authorities always had in view their rights over the Lepers Hoſpital; and hence their reverſion in the tolls of the fair. Other points will make themſelves apparent; but theſe are the broad views from which many of the following incidents have to be regarded.

*Name of the Fair.*—The firſt point of intereſt is the name of the Fair. It is occaſionally ſpelled in

ſuch a manner as to be entirely miſleading as to its locality; and hence many have come to regard it as being in the weſtern, inſtead of the eaſtern part of the kingdom. The ſpelling indeed has varied much at different periods. The original deſignation was Sterelbrigg, ſo called from the little river of *Stere*, or *Sture* flowing into the *Cam*, near Cambridge. There have been ſeveral fanciful origins aſſigned by thoſe who were too indolent to inveſtigate proper ſources: ſuch as (by Bloomfield) that it was derived from the toll paid for all young cattle, or *ſteers* paſſing over the bridge! I have throughout this record followed the ſpelling of the authorities under quotation.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CHRONOLOGY, THIRTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES—STURBRIDGE.

1278.

THE Commiſſioners of Edward I. (already referred to) returned upon inqueſt that King John had granted this Fair for the benefit of the Hoſpital for Lepers which ſtood there. "To the ſaid Hoſpital belongs a certain Fair, held at the Feaſt of the raiſing and exaltation of the Croſs, which continues to this eve of Holy Croſs, within the meadow belonging to the ſaid Hoſpital, which Fair our ſovereign Lord King John, the predeceſſor of our preſent Lord the King, granted to the ſaid Hoſpital, for the uſe and ſubſiſtence of the Lepers dwelling therein."

1351. A writ was on 3rd Oct. directed to the Sheriff of Cambridgeſhire requiring him to convey to the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe in the Tower of London, thirty-ſeven ſtrait cloths, and one cloth of colour, lately ſeized in the Fair of Stereſbrigge to the King's uſe, by his deputy

Alnager, as not being of the aſſize and which were then in the cuſtody of the Mayor of Cambridge.

1376. This year the Corporation of Cambridge made an Ordinance, prohibiting any burgeſs to take Sturbridge Chapel to farm, except to the uſe of the mayor and bailiffs, or to keep market there, under the penalty of 10 marks, or to make any booth there, or let any place for the building of a booth, under the penalty of 10*s*.; and any burgeſſes convicted of a breach of this Ordinance before the twenty-four [members of the Common Council] was to be deprived of his freedom at their diſcretion.

1382. The King being informed that many falſe weights and meaſures had been theretofore uſed in Stereſbrigge Fair, to the deception of his ſubjects reſorting thereto, iſſued a Writ on 3rd Sept. requiring the Chancellor of the Univerſity to be vigilant in exerciſing in that fair the powers conferred on him by the late Charter [1381] reſpecting weights and meaſures.

Two years later a diſpute aroſe between the Corporation and the Univerſity regarding the exerciſe of this right. The King confirmed the privilege of the Univerſity.

1395. Richard II. made order that the Sheriff was to apprehend all perſons who broke the peace in Bernwell Fair, whether ſcholars or townſmen.

1397. On Hoch Tueſday the commonalty of Cambridge made Ordinances to the following effect: . . .

ii. That all burgeſſes having any booths at the Fair of Sterebrigge, and who ſhould let them to

farm to any outcomers or foreſgners for certain ſum agreed upon between them, ſhould pay to the mayor and bailiffs the third part of the ſum for which the ſame ſhould be ſo let.

iii. That no freeman ſhould occupy two booths of one art.

1403. The Corporate Ordinances made by Cambridge this year contain (*inter alia*) the following:

*Item* . . . Every man burgeſs of the town of Cambridge, may freely have one booth in the fair of Stirbridge, without rendering any thing therefore to the mayor and bailiffs for the time being, whether he occupy it or let it to farm. And that no burgeſs have in the fair aforeſaid more than one booth, unleſs he render therefore to the mayor and bailiffs for the time being, toll and cuſtom as others do who are not burgeſſes.

*Item.* It is ordained on the ſame day, that if any bailiff or other burgeſs of the town aforeſaid, in future, leaſe or lend to any Citizens of London, the place for the booth called the Tolbooth, in the fair aforeſaid, that the bailiffs pay to the commonalty of the Town of Cambridge £10, and the burgeſſes 100*s.* for every default, namely *tociens quociens*, to loſe their freedom.

*Item.* The ſame day it is ordained that no burgeſs of the town aforeſaid proſecute againſt any one by writ or plaint, before the Chancellor nor elſewhere, for any contract which can be determined before the mayor and bailiffs [in the Piepowder Court?] nor ſummon a defendant to the Chancellor, &c., under the pain of every one &c. 40*s.* to be paid to the

commonalty of the town aforeſaid, and the loſs of his freedom (ſee 1427-8).

*Item.* The ſame day it is ordained, that no ſerjeant of the town aforeſaid for the future ſhall be attorney or of counſel, *with any foreigner, againſt any burgeſs of the ſame town*, in the Court of the Town aforeſaid, under the pain of 40*d.*, to be paid to the commonalty of the town aforeſaid, *toties quoties*. See 1575.

1405. The Corporation of Cambridge enacted the following Ordinances:

Be it remembered, that on the day of election of mayor and bailiffs for the town of Cambridge in the 6th year of the reign of Henry IV., it is ordained that every burgeſs within the town aforeſaid having a booth or booths in the fair of Sterbrige, may well and lawfully give, ſell and ſurrender the ſaid booth to the uſe of any other burgeſs of the ſame town, before the Mayor and one of the Aldermen of the ſame town, in the Court there holden on every Tueſday in the year, and on every Monday in the Court of the Liberty: Provided always that the ſaid booth or booths be ſurrendered freely, quietly and wholly, without condition, annexed or expreſſed, for him and his, according to the cuſtom of the borough. And this under the pain or forfeiture of the ſame booths to the burgeſſes of the town aforeſaid.

1411. On 15 Nov. John Arondell, cuſtos of the free chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, otherwiſe called Sturbridge chapel near Barnwell, exhibited his bill in the Exchequer againſt John Eſſex,

ſadler, John Warwyk, ſkinner, John Chaucer and William Buſh, late bailiffs, then preſent in Court on their account. In this bill plaintiff averred that he and his predeceſſors, had immemorially had ſtallage of all perſons merchandiſing upon the Chapel-yard, parcel of his chapel, where part of the fair of Sturbridge was accuſtomed to be held, and where merchants were accuſtomed to erect their ſhops during the fair-time. That one Thomas Spryggy merchant and Clothier, and other merchants to the number of 20, would have made their ſhops there at the fair holden at Sturbridge on Monday the feaſt of the Exaltation of the Holy Croſs then preceding, and would have paid the ſtallage 6*s.* 8*d.* each but that the late bailiffs unjuſtly and by colour of their office would not permit the merchants to build their ſhops in the Chapel-yard by which he loſt his ſtallage amounting to 10 marks, to the diſherſion of the chapel, and to his damage of £10. The defendants by their plea, after proteſting that the chapel was founded within the time of memory and that the bailiffs of Cambridge were ſeized of ſtallage of merchandize brought to the fair, denied that the cuſtos or his predeceſſors were ſeized of ſuch ſtallage. On this plea iſſue was joined, and a verdict returned in favor of the cuſtos whoſe damages were aſſeſſed at 5 marks with £10 coſts. The proceedings in this cauſe were exemplified by letters under the Exchequer ſeal, teſted by John Cokayn Chief Baron, on the 4th March 1412-13.

1419. At this time there was a ſuit pending before the King's Council between the Chancellor and

Scholars of the Univerſity, and the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London, each of whom claimed the Cuſtody of Aſſize and aſſay of Bread, wine and beer, and the ſuperviſion of the meaſures and weights of the citizens of London coming to Sturbridge fair. On the 14th July the King (Henry V.) directed letters patent to Sir Wm. Aſenhull, knt. ſheriff of the County, commanding him to exerciſe the before-mentioned cuſtody and ſuperviſion over the citizens of London in the fair of Sturbridge, till the matter was decided, and requiring the litigating parties to aſſiſt the Sheriff.

From the accounts of the Priories of Maxtoke (Warwickſhire) and of Biceſter (Oxon) during the reign of Henry VI. it is ſeen that the monks laid in yearly ſtores of various common neceſſaries, at this fair—diſtant at leaſt one hundred miles from either monaſtery. Wharton ("Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry") commenting on this fact ſays: "It may ſeem ſurpriſing that their own neighbourhood, including the Cities of Oxford and Coventry could not ſupply them with commodities neither rare nor coſtly, which they thus fetched at a conſiderable expenſe of carriage." But he remembers that it was a rubric in ſome of the monaſtic rules *De Euntibus ad Nundinas.*

1423. In the parliament of Henry VI., this year, the following petition was preſented:

Prien the wiſe and worthi Communes, that for as muchell as in the Citee of London, and in the Suburbes ther of, diverſes perſones occupying the craft of Brauderie, maken divers werkes of Brauderie of unſuffiſaunt ſtuff, and unduely wrought, as well

upon Velowet, and Cloth of Gold, as upon all other Clothes of Silk wrought with Gold or Silver of Cipre, and Gold of Luk, or Spaynyſsh laton togedre, and ſwich warkes, ſo untrewely made by ſwiche perſones aforeſaid, dredyng the ſerche of the wardens of Brauderie in the ſaid Citee of London, kepen and ſenden unto the fayres of Stereſbrugg, Ely, Oxenford and Saleſbury, and ther thei outre hem, to greet deſeit of our ſoverain Lord the Kyng, and al his peple. That it like oure ſoverain Lord the Kyng, wyth his Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, in this preſent Parlement, to ordeyne by ſtatute, that all the werk of Brauderie ſo undwely made as above is declared, be forfait to oure ſoverain Lord the Kyng. And that the Wardeins of Brauderes of the ſaid Citee of London, for that tyme beyng may, by auctorite of this preſent parlement, have warant by patent to make ſerche of all werk of Braderie put to ſelle at the ſaid faires of Stereſbrugg, Ely, Oxenford and Saleſbury, and thoo werkes of Brouderie there founden unſuffiſant, to forfaite and arreſte to the uſe of our Soverain Lord the Kyng, as ofte tymes as ſuch werk be founde.

To which anſwer was made:

Be it enacted that all works and ſtuff with gold and ſilver broidery of Cyprus or Gold of Luke, or with laton of Spain, and ſold to the deceit of the ſubjects of the King, be forfeited to the King, or to the Lords and to others having franchiſes of ſuch forfeitures, in which franchiſe ſuch works be found. And that this enactment endure only until the next parliament.

The valuable commodities ſold at this fair are here in part indicated.

Same year the commonalty of Cambridge, on the Thurſday after the Nativity of the Virgin made an Ordinance to this effect:

That the bailiff of the Bridge ſhould not take toll for carriage, nor ſtall-pence nor cuſtom, from the bridge, nor elſewhere (except in the fair) for merchandiſe coming to the fair of Sterbrigg, from the vigil of the nativity of the bleſſed Mary until the fair was ended.

1425. The accounts of Richard Parentyn prior of Burcheſter, in Oxfordſhire, and Richard Albon canon and burſar of that houſe, for the year ending Michaelmas, contain ſeveral items which ſhew the varied and extenſive trade of Sturbridge fair about this time: For the expenſe of Albon in going to and from Steriſbrugge fair for five days with three horſes to buy victuals &c. 12*s.* 6*d.* is charged. The following articles are alſo ſtated to have been purchaſed here: "Three collars, one baſſe [a ruſh collar for cart-horſes] and three headſtalls 5*s* 10½*d*;" "a bolt [long narrow piece] of red ſay [ſilk] for making a cope 4*s* 8*d*" "Six eſtregbords [Eaſtern boards] viz Waynſcots 2*s* 3*d*"; "100 halfwaxfyche [dried fiſh?] 21*s*.;" "324 lbs of Spaniſh iron, with the portage of the ſame 18*s* 5*d*"

1459. Richard Andrewe, *alias* Spycer, burgeſs of Cambridge by his will dated 30 Aug. bequeathed to the mayor and bailiffs of that town 80 marks to be kept in a cheſt there provided, and portions thereof lent on loans from time to time in

ſums not exceeding 26*s.* 8*d.* To the keepers of this Cheſt he gave, three booths and certain booth-ground in Sturbridge Fair, and a houſe in St. Andrew's pariſh abutting on Preachers' lane, the profits to be applied to the celebration of his anniverſary in Great St. Mary's Church, to be diſtributed in various ſmall charities there ſpecified. See Cooper's "Annals," i., p. 210.

1464. By 4th Edward IV. c. 8 power is given to the Wardens of the Company of Horners to ſearch for defective wares in London and twenty-four miles round, alſo in the fairs of Sturbridge and Ely, and to ſeize defective manufactures and bring the ſame before the Mayor of London or the Mayors or Bailiffs of the aforeſaid fairs, for the time being. In 1609 this act was revived by 7 James I. c. 14, ſec. 2. The act was repealed in 1856.

1487. The Corporation of London made an Ordinance prohibiting the freemen of that City to go to any fair out of the City with any manner of merchandiſe to ſell or barter. This Ordinance was repealed by act of parliament in the preamble of which it is recited that there "be many fairs for the common Weal of your ſaid liege people, as at Saliſbury, Briſtol, Oxenford, Cambridge &c." If this order of enumeration had any reference to the relative importance of the fairs (which I ſuſpect it had not) it puts this fair only fourth. This act has already been ſet out in detail in Chapter V.

This year Sir Wm. Littlebury alias Horn, citizen and ſalter, and alſo Lord Mayor of London, gave 500 marks towards repairing the highways be-

tween London and Cambridge. This was probably in view of benefiting thoſe attending the fairs.

1496. On 20th July Katherine Cooke widow of John Cooke ſome time mayor, granted to the mayor, bailiffs, treaſurers, and burgeſſes and their ſucceſſors, to the uſe of the Treaſury of the Town of Cambridge, three booths ſituate in the Soper's lane, the Chepe, and the Petimercerye, in Sterbrigge fair. To the intent that the Treaſurers ſhould perpetually uphold yearly on the 25 Feby., a ſpecial dirge and maſs in the pariſh Church of St. Mary the Virgin next the market for the ſouls of John Cooke and William Colles, and Katherine, Joan, and Lucy their wives, and pay to the bellman for going about the town for the ſaid ſouls *3d*; with other ſmall bequeſts to the poor &c. Cooper's "Annals," i., p. 246.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY— STURBRIDGE.

1501.

THE accounts of the Treaſurers of Cambridge for this year contained the following item:

Paid John Fynne, Clerk to make up the farm of the land called the Chapel ground lying in Sturbridge Fair leaſted to the Mayor, bailiffs and burgeſſes, beyond the money received for the farm of the ſame this year, *becauſe a great part of the ſame was not levied this year, by reaſon that the merchants of London withdrew themſelves from the Fair*, 100*s*.

This leaſe had been taken on 7th Aug. 1497 for a term of 99 years at a rent of £12, and five tapers of wax for the chapel of equal weight, and weighing in the whole 3 lbs.

1503. William Kentte the younger, Clerk, by his will deviſed two booths in Sturbridge fair, and the reverſion of a tenement called the Crown in the pariſh of St. Andrew in Cambridge, the mayor and burgeſſes entered into covenants with his executors

to obſerve and keep a yearly dirge in the Church of St. Benedict, on the firſt Wedneſday of the kalends of May, and other ſpecified obſervances of a religious character.

1510. There was a ſuit between Kings Lynn and Cambridge regarding Toll at this fair. How the matter was then diſpoſed of does not appear. See 1541.

1517. Miſunderſtandings having ariſen between the Town of Cambridge and the Prior and Convent of Barnwell the matter was referred to arbitration, and the Award determined that the town for evermore ſhould have hold and enjoy, keep and maintain the fair as well within the ſaid town of Barnwell &c, as in all other lands and fields of the ſaid prior and convent, lying on the eaſt between the ſaid monaſtery and town of Barnwell, and a bridge called Sturbridge, from the feaſt of St. Bartholomew unto the feaſt of St. Michael in Sept., and that they and their farmers might, without let or moleſtation of the ſaid prior and convent, build ſtalls, ſhops, &c, the mayor &c throwing down all banks, chimneys, &c within four days after Michaelmas, and provided that all ſuch farmers of any houſe or ſhop letten by the Prior and Convent ſhould pay but one ſhilling by the year to the mayor &c for his and their houſe and ſhop. "Hiſt. and Antiq. of Sturbridge Fair," p. 77.

1519. A diſpute which had ariſen between the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeſſes of Cambridge and the mayor, burgeſſes, and comburgeſſes of *North-*

*ampton*, as to the claim of the freemen of the latter town to *exemption from toll in Sturbridge Fair*, was referred to the arbitrament of Sir Richard Elliot, and Sir Lewis Pollard, Juſtices of the Common Pleas, who on the 4th June awarded that the Corporation of Northampton ſhould pay 10*s*. yearly to the Corporation of Cambridge in full ſatisfaction of all toll and cuſtom due from the freemen of Northampton, for all manner of ſtuff, barrelled ware, and other merchandiſe, brought by them to Sturbridge fair, and all other paſſages and carriages through and by the town of Cambridge, at all times of the year, or and beſides twopence for every cart laden with their ſtuff going out of the fair. A deed of Covenant founded on this award was entered into by the two Corporations on the 10th of July. "Corp. Croſs. Book."

1521. About this time there were proceedings in the Court of the Duchy of Lancaſter by the tenants of *Hertford*, againſt Richard Clark mayor of Cambridge, who was complained againſt for ſeizing for toll in this fair.

A little later there was a like ſuit pending between the tenants of the Duchy in Walden, and the bailiffs of Cambridge. *A decree in favour of* the Exemption was made in Eaſter term 1524.

1533-4. The Heads of the Univerſity claimed the following rights in the Fair:

1. The Proctor's Commiſſary and other officers of the univerſity keep a court in the fair, becauſe it is within the ſuburbs of Cambridge, and the univerſity are clerks of the market, and have the over-

ſight and correction of weights and meaſures, and victuals in the fair.

2. They hold plea in the ſaid court of contracts and treſpaſſes made within the ſaid fair as without, which was one of the things agreed upon in a compoſition with the town, viz. that the univerſity ſhould have the like privileges there as the mayor.

3. They hear and determine pleas perſonall as well between ſcholars, ſervants, as all foreigners and others of the kings ſubjects, if a ſcholar or ſcholars ſervant be one party by the commiſſary in the fair court by the order of the civil law by witneſs or otherwiſe, excepting in cauſes relating to victuals, wherein they determine according to the common or ſtatute law.

4. They make proclamation in the ſaid fair before the proclamation of the mayor of Cambridge, by virtue of the King's letter patent as conſervators of the peace, and as having the overſeer of victuals which is the firſt thing ſold in the fair.

5. The Proctors ſearch all manner of fiſh as well ſalt-fiſh as other, pewter, braſs, &c, haires, girthwebb, ſilks, furs, beds, and all upholſtery wares, ſpices and grocery, rape-ſeed, muſtard-ſeed, fuſtians, worſteds, ſago, honey, ſoap, oil, tallow, wax &c. brought to be ſold in the ſaid fair, and take the forfeitures of the ſame when faulty &c. This they do by virtue of royal charters.

6. The Proctors by virtue of the King's writt directed to the univerſity, and as clerks of the market are the proper gaugers in the fair to gauge all manner of barrelled wares brought to be ſold,

and take the uſual fees allowed by the law for the ſame, as alſo for weighing, viz. of every one that bringeth ſalmon or any thing of like nature to be ſold, 12*d.* for every laſt gauging. For every laſt of oil gauged 12*d.* Item, for every laſt of ſoap weighing and guaging 12*d.* For every laſt of honey weighing and gauging 4*s.* &c. and the fines and forfeitures for want of weight and meaſure.

7. The Taxers take of all victuallers in the fair a greater or leſſer ſum according as they can agree for breach of the aſſize of bread and beer which they ſell in the fair. N.B. This taken in lieu of heavier penalties which the offending victualler incurrs, and the taxers may lawfully inflict, for ſuch offence.

8. For every cart load of oats to be ſold in the fair they take 4*d.* &c.

This declaration of rights and privileges was in reply to charges made by the town againſt the Univerſity—twenty-three in all, amongſt which was (15) of that of holding within the town a Civil Court weekly whereat they held plea of all manner of contracts and actions perſonal, as well between foreigners as burgeſſes, and hold proceedings in the Civil law in derogation of the King's Crown. All this the Univerſity replied they did by the King's Charter. That (16) they had excommunicated two of the mayors of the town. To which anſwer was, they did this for perjury! They had puniſhed a foreſtaller of honey from Banbury. They had puniſhed a burgeſs for ſelling tallow to a merchant at Lynn (20). Admitted—"There was muche

talow conveyed owte of Cambridge ſo as the Kyngs people myght have no candle ſufficient." The anſwers to the charges had been given verbally in St. Mary's Church, and record taken. There was much commotion on the occaſion, but afterwards "all dranke together at the Pompe Taverne, and the Unyverſyte payd for all." See 1534.

Same year, 7th Sept. Princeſs Elizabeth (afterwards the famous Queen) was born at Greenwich. Intelligence was brought to the mayor by the Queen's minſtrels, during the time of the fair, and was there celebrated by bonfires and rejoicings. In the accounts of the treaſurer of the borough for that year are theſe items:

*Item*, payed to the Qwenys mynſtrells that brought letters to Mr. Mayer of the birthe of the Prynceſſe v*s*.

*Item*, paid for ij loads woode for gaudes at the bone fyer in Stirrebygge fayer made in certain places within the ſaid fayer iij*s* x*d*.

*Item*, for iiij galonns wyne ſpent at the ſaid Gaudes ij*s* viij*d*.

1534. There was enacted the 25 Henry VIII. c. 4—*An Acte agaynſt Forſtlyng and regraytyng of Fyſshe*—which recited previous acts againſt forſtalling victuals and other merchandiſe in the markets and fairs of the kingdom, "which former Statutes not only for lake of due exeucion of the ſame but alſo for lake of condigne punyſshement in the ſeid Statutes conteyned be lytill feared or regarded; for dyverſe and many of the Kinges ſubjectes contrary to the meanyng of the ſaid Eſtatutes nothing re-

gardyng the diſpleaſure of Allmyghty God and of the Kynges Highnes, ne yet the love and charitie that they ought to have to theire neyghbours and commen welthe of this Realme, for theire pryvate lucre and finguler avayle commenly in every markett and fayre within this Realme doo forſtall and regrate all maner of victuall as corne wynes fyſshe and fleſhe, and eſpecially in *Sturbruge* fayre, *Seynte Ives* faire, and *Elye* fayre, *being the moſt notable faires within this Realme for provyſions of fyſshe*, and mooſt to the releff of the Kynges subjectes yf ſuch forſtallyng and regratyng myght be ſett on fyde," &c. &c.

After ten years experience of its miſchievous tendency this act was repealed (1544).

The diſputes between the Univerſity and the town ſtill continuing, a grace was this year paſſed empowering ſuch parties as were therein named to anſwer determine and conclude all ſuch controverſies as ſhould be propounded by the mayor and burgeſſes before the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Norfolk; and by another Grace, proctors were appointed on the part of the Univerſity to anſwer in all cauſes before the King's Council. On the 24th July the parties on both ſides met at Lambeth Palace, "where it was decreed by the ſaid Lordes "that Styrbridge Faire was in the Subarbes of "Cambridge, and that the Vice-chancellor or his "commyſary might kepe courte cyvyll ther for plees "wheare a ſcolar was the one party. *Item*, that in "the ſame faire the univerſity lead the overſight, "correction and punyſhemente of all weightes and

" meſures, of all maner of victayll, of all Regreators " and Foreſtallers. *Item*, It was determyned that " ſpyces be vytaill." The expences of the Univerſity this year for journies to London &c, in conſequence of the diſputes with the townſmen amounted to nearly £80.

There was ſtill ſome further controverſy on the point, in which Thomas Crumwell, Secretary of State, took part. See Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," i. 373.

1639. In Hilary term John Baker the King's Attorney General filed an information in the Court of King's Bench againſt the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeſſes, charging that they for four years, and more then laſt paſt, had uſed to have a mart or fair at Barnwell and Sturbridge, on the morrow of St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle, and continuing from that time till the fourteenth day after the exaltation of the Holy Croſs, with all liberties and free cuſtoms to the ſaid mart or fair belonging and appertaining; alſo to have and hold by their ſteward and other miniſters a Court of Piepowder, and by colour of the ſame to attach diſquiet and aggrieve the ſubjects of the King reſorting to the ſaid fair, as well by their bodies as by their goods and chattels, and take from the King's ſubjects divers fines and amerciaments, and to apply the ſame to their own uſe; and alſo to have all forfeitures and royalties whatſoever within the precincts of the ſaid mart or fair during its continuance; all which liberties and franchiſes they uſurped upon the King and his prerogative royal, to his great prejudice and damage and in

contempt of his crown. Proceſs was thereupon awarded, requiring the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeſſes to anſwer this information, and to ſhow by what warrant they claimed theſe liberties and franchiſes. They ſuffered judgment againſt them by default, and the liberties and franchiſes in the information ſpecified, were ſeized into the King's hands.

This proceeding was conſequent upon the diſſolution of monaſteries ordered in the preceding year —the original grant of the fair having been made as we have ſeen to a religious houſe. The Corporation prayed for a new charter, and agreed to pay 1,000 marks for the ſame. The Charter was granted, but the money, on the authority of Cooper ("Annals," i., 393), was not paid for many years afterwards. The fair however was regularly held. The Charter is a very lengthy document; and as the grant was confirmed half a century later by the charter of Elizabeth (1589), which I ſhall have occaſion to notice in ſome details for reaſons then appearing, I ſhall not dwell upon the preſent one.

1541. By 33 Henry VIII. c. 39—*The Bill for Town of Lynne towching the revoking of two Fairs*—it is recited For ſo much that as well the burgeſſes and inhabitants of the ſaid borough of King's Lynn, as many and divers other perſons dwelling near the ſaid borough have made regrated and gotten into their hands and poſſeſſion great numbers of ſalt fiſh as ling, lob, ſalt ſalmon, ſhellfiſh and herring, "to the gret hindraunce and loſs of many of the King's

ſubjects that yerely have repayred and com to *Styrbige fair* Ely faire, & other Fayres & marketts in the Countie of Cambryge & Huntyngton and other ſhyres for the provyſion of ſalt fyſhe, & Heryng for theire houſeholdes, & for the proviſion of dyverſe other ſhires within this Realme of Englande, whiche regratyng is contrary to a comen welth and to dyverſe ſtatutes in that caſe providede, and contrari to the good entente and meanyng of the graunt of the ſaid Fayres and marte" It is enacted that the grant of the ſaid Fairs to King's Lynn be and was thereby repealed.

1542. Leland in his famous "Itinerary" at this date records: "The brothers of Sturbridge poſſeſs an antient houſe in that part where is the Fair for the ſale of woollens, commonly called the Duddery."

1544. On 27 Sept. Thomas Biſhop of Ely, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Ely, and Chriſtopher Fulneby, incumbent of the Free Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene called Styrrebrige in the County of Cambridge, demiſed to the mayor, bailiffs, burgeſſes, and commonalty of the town of Cambridge, the aforeſaid free Chapel, with all glebe lands, tenements, meadows, paſtures, booths, and booth grounds, ſtandings, liberty of building booths, rents, hereditaments, oblations, commodities and profits (except the advowſon, patronage, and donation of the ſaid free chapel) for 60 years at the rent of £9 per annum.

By means of this the entire temporal control of

the fair merged into the Corporation of Cambridge.

1546. There appears to have been ſome ſuit pending at this time regarding the Fair, for at a meeting of the Corporation of Cambridge Robert Chapman and ſeven others were appointed to commune and determine what they thought beſt to be done for Sturbridge Fair, and how the charges of the ſuit therof ſhould be borne, and all other things concerning the ſame. *Vide* "Corporation Common Day Book."

1547. At the Common Day held on Friday after the Aſſumption it was ordered that the Bailiffs ſhould enter their wards at this Fair on the 6th Sept. yearly, at 5 o'clock in the morning, and ſhould pay as follows: for the Bridge ward £18, for the Market ward £12, and for the High ward £13.

The proctors of the Univerſity upon freſh complaints made going their rounds one night "had taken certain evil perſons in houſes of ſin," and had brought them to the Tollboth, in order to commit them there. But having ſent to the mayor for the keys, he abſolutely refuſed to part with them. So they were fain to carry their priſoners to the caſtle, where they left them in cuſtody. But the mayor's ſon, after an hour or two let them all out, "to return if they pleaſed to their former lewdneſs; to the breach of the law; and the affront of the magiſtrate." This led to further diſagreements.

By an Order of the Privy Council dated 3rd Oct. this year the mayor and underſheriff of the County were required not only to acknowledge before the

Vice-chancellor, heads of colleges and proctors, that they had interfered with the privileges of the Univerſity in this fair, but alſo "that the mayor in common hall ſhall openly, among his bretheren, acknowledge his wilfull proceeding." The breach conſiſted of John Fletcher, the mayor, having refuſed to receive into the tolbooth [priſon] certain perſons of "naughty and corrupt behaviour," who were priſoners taken by the proctors of the Univerſity, in the laſt Sturbridge Fair; wherefore he was called before the Lords and others of the Council, and his fault therein "ſo plainly and juſtly opened" that he could not deny it, but did "ſincerly and willingly confeſs the ſaid fault." Dyer's "Privileges of Cambridge," i. p. 111.

About this time Nicholas Elton, burgeſs of Cambridge by his will deviſed a booth in Sturbridge fair to the mayor, bailiffs and burgeſſes, after the death of his wife—It is ſuppoſed for charitable purpoſes.

There had been ſome ſuggeſtion that the Univerſity ſhould ſell their privileges in the Fair to the Corporation—ſee 1858.

1548. The following is the *Proclamation* uſed by the Univerſity of Cambridge about this date in "Crying the Fair":

*The Crye in Sturbridge Fayer.*

Wee charge & ſtraightlie comaund in y^e^ name of y^e^ Kinge of England o^r^ Soveraigne Lord, and in y^e^ name of my Lord Chauncell^r^ of y^e^ Univerſitie of Cambridge, y^t^ all manner of ſchollers, Schollers Ser-

vants, and all other perſons in this Fayer, and the precinct of y^e^ ſame, keepe the Kings peace, & make no fraye, cry, owtaſſe, ["out alas!", old exclamation(?)] ſhrekinge, or any other noyſe, by y^e^ which Inſurations, Conventicles, or gatheringe of people may be made in this Fayer, to y^e^ trouble vexinge and diſquietinge of y^e^ Kings leage people or lettinge of the officers of y^e^ Univerſity to exerciſe there offices, under the payne of Impriſonment & further puniſhment as the offence ſhall require.

*Alſo* wee charge & comaund, that all manner of Schollers, and Schollers ſervants weare no weapon, to make any fraye upon any of y^e^ Kings people, neither in cominge nor in goinge from this Fayer, under y^e^ payne of baniſhment.

*Alſo* wee charge & comaund, y^t^ all manner of ſtraungers, that come to this Fayer, that they leave theire weapons at theire Innes, that y^e^ Kings peace may be the better kept and for y^e^ occaſion enſueinge of the ſame, under the payne of forfettinge of their weapons, and further puniſhment, as the offence ſhall require.

*Alſo* wee charge & comaund, in y^e^ Kings name of England, & in y^e^ name of my Lord Chauncellor of y^e^ Univerſity, ſhall all manner of Bakers, y^t^ bake to ſell, that they make 2 loofes for a penny, and 4 for another, good paſt, good bowltell, & lawfull ſyſe, after as grayne goethe in y^e^ markett, & every baker y^t^ baketh to ſell, have a marke upon his bread, whereby it may be knowne who did bake it, under y^e^ payne of forfeiture of his bread.

*Alſo* wee charge & comaund, that all common

women, and miſbehavinge people, avoyde and withdrawe themſelves owte of this fayer, and precincts of y^e^ ſame, ymediatelie after this crye y^t^ y^e^ Kings ſubjects may be the more quiet, and good rule may be the better mayntayned, under y^e^ payn of impriſonment.

*Alſo* that all Bakers ſhall obſerve and keepe ſuche ſyzes of bread as ſhall be given them by the officers of y^e^ Univerſity, under y^e^ payne of forfeiture of theire bread, if it happen any Baker to be founde fawtie in any article apperteyninge to unlawfull bread accordinge to y^e^ Kings lawes, that then ſuch bakers, after 3 monitions, ſhall be impriſoned & puniſhed on y^e^ pillory, accordinge to y^e^ lawes of o^r^ Sovereigne Lord y^e^ Kinge.

*Alſo* that no Brewer ſell into the Fayer nowe here within y^e^ precinct of y^e^ Univerſitie, a Barrell of good Ale above 2 s.; And a Barrell of Hoſtell Ale above xij d.; no longe Ale, no red Ale, no ropye Ale, but good and holſome for mans body, under y^e^ payne of forfeyture. *And* y^t^ every Brewer have a mark upon his Barrell, whereby it may be known who owneth it, under y^e^ payne of impriſonment and fyne at y^e^ diſcretion of y^e^ officers of y^e^ Univerſitie.

*Alſo* y^t^ every Barrell of good Ale hold and conteyne xiiij gallons, xiij gallons of cleere Ale, and one gallon for the reſt: and the Hoggett vij gallons, that is to ſay, fixe gallons, and one pottel of cleare Ale, and the reſidew of reſt, under the payn of forfeit, and further puniſhment after the diſcretion of the officers of the Univerſitie.

*Alſo* wee comaund that y^e^ bearebrewer ſhall ſell a kylderkyn of double beare in this fayer for ij s. and a kylderkyn of ſingle beare for xij d.

*Alſo* y^t^ no Tipler no gauger ſell in the ſayd fayre nor within the precincts of the Univerſitie, A gallon of good Ale above iiij d: nor a gallon of the Hoſtill ale above ij d. and the beare brewers a gallon of double beare above iiij d. and a gallon of ſingle beare above ij d, under the payn of xij d. for every tyme.

*Alſo* that no Tipler or gauger ſell by other meaſure than by gallon, pottle, quart, pint, and halfe pint, under the payne of xij d. for every tyme.

*Alſo* where great detriments, hurts, and deceites have beene to the Kings ſubjectes in tymes paſt, by reaſon of falſe and unlawfull meaſure, brought by Potters and other perſons to bee ſould in this fayre and the precinct of the ſame; for avoydinge therefore the ſayd hurts and untrew meaſures, wee ſtraightlie charge and comaund that every Potter, and all other perſons as bring ſuch pots to bee ſould in this fayre, or the precinct of the ſame, that ye and all other from hensforth ſell and buy trew goods and laweful meaſures, as gallons, pottles, quartes, pintes and halfe pints, under the payne of impriſonment, and that to remain till they have made fyne at the will of the ſayd officers.

*Alſo* if any Bruer be found fauty in any of the premiſſes after that hee hath bene iij times Amerced, then y^e^ ſaid brewer ſhal bee comited to priſon, there to remayne till hee have fined at the will of the officers of the Univerſitye.

*Alſo* that every Tipler or Guager, that ſelleth ale in this fayer that they have theire meaſures well and lawfullie ſealed and aſſyzed according to the ſtanderd of the Univerſitie; and y^t^ every Gauger, and bere-brewer y^t^ hath Ale or bere to ſell, have a ſigne at theire booth, whereby they may y^e^ better be knowne, under y^e^ payne of impriſonment.

*Alſo* that every Vintener, that hath wyne to ſell in this fayre, as white wyne, redd wyne, Clarett wyne, Gaſkyn wyne, mamſey, or any other wyne, that they ſell no dearer than they doe at London, except a ob. in a gallon towards y^e^ carriage; and y^t^ every vintener have theire potts and theire meaſures ſyſed and enſealed after the ſtandard of the Univer-ſitie, under y^e^ payne of forfeiture, and theire bodyes to priſon.

*Alſo* that all perſons that bringeth linge fyſhe ſalt fyſhe, ſtocke fyſhe, or any other ſalt fyſhe, to ſell in this fayre, or within y^e^ precinct of y^e^ ſame, that they ſell no rott fyſhe, no burnt fyſhe, no ruſtie fyſhe, but good, lawfull, and holeſome for man's body, under y^e^ payne of forfeiture of y^e^ fyſhe and theire bodyes to pryſon.

*Alſo* all manner of perſons which have ſamon herringe or eels to ſell in this fayer, that y^e^ veſſels called Butts, Barrells, half Barrells, and firkins, you ſell none of them before they be ſene and ſearched, & y^t^ y^e^ butt hold and conteyne 84 Gallons, well and trulie packed upon payne for every butt, barrell, half barrell ſo lackinge theire ſaid meaſure vj s. iiij d. *And* y^t^ y^e^ great ſalmon be well and trulie packed by itſelf, without meddlinge of any grills, or

broken-bellied ſamon with the ſame: and that all ſmall fyſhe called Grilles be packed by themſelves, and without any meddlinge upon payne of forfeiture & looſing of vj s. viij d. for every butt, barrell, and halfe barrell ſo found faltye, contrary to the ſtatute of y^e^ parliament; on the which ſtatute theſe poynts and other more bee more playnly xpreſſed.

*Alſo* that every Pikemonger that bringeth freſh fiſh to this fayre to ſell, as Pike, Tench, Roche, perche, eele, or any other freſh fiſhes, that the fiſhe be quicke and lymiſhe, and of the ſize and bigneſſe according to the ſtatute thereof made, under the payne of forfeiture, and their bodyes to priſon.

*Alſo* that every butcher, that bringeth fleſh to ſell in this faire that he bring no rotten fleſhe, no muireynes, no ſuffiners, [foul or unwholeſome meat (?)] but lawfull and holeſome for man's bodye, and that every butcher bringe the ſide [hide?] and the tallowe of all ſuch fleſh as hee ſhall kill, to ſell in the faire, and that every butcher bring with him the liver and the longes of all ſuch beaſtes under the payne of forfeiture.

*Alſo* that every Baker that baketh horſe Bread to ſell that hee ſell iij loaves for A penny, after good and lawful ſize, and after ſuch ſize as ſhall be given them, and that it be made of good peaſe beanes and other lawful ſtuffe, upon the payn aforeſayd.

*Alſo* ſhall all browne bakers, as well Inholders and others, obſerve and keepe ſuch ſyſe of horſe bread as ſhall be given them by y^e^ ſaid officers, under y^e^ payne and puniſhment as of other Bakers is reherſed.

*Alſo* that every perſon y^t^ ſelleth by meaſures, as by ell or by yard, woollen clothe, or Lynnen clothe Sylke, worſteds, ſyſed and unſealed, that they have theire ells and theire yards ſyſed and enſealed after y^e^ ſtandard of y^e^ Univerſitie, under the payne of forfeiture, and their bodyes impriſonment.

*Alſo* that every perſon that ſelleth any meaſure, as by Buſhell, half Buſhell, Pecke, or half Pecke, as Coales, Salt, Muſter Seede, or any other thing, that theire Buſhells half Buſhells and pecks be ſyſed and ſealed after y^e^ ſtandard of the Univerſitie, under the payne of impriſonment, and more puniſhment as the offence ſhall require.

*Alſo* that all perſons that waigh have good and lawful waights ſyſed and enſealed, and to agree with y^e^ ſtandard waight of y^e^ Univerſitie.

*Alſo* that no man ſhall regrate none of y^e^ foreſayd things, as Lynge fiſhe, Salt fyſhe, Stocke fyſhe, herringe, Salmon, Pike, tench, waxe, flax, oſiern, [for oſmunds, a preparation for ſtiffening linen (?)] roſyn, yarne, pitch tarr, cloth, nor none other things of Grocery ware, or any other marchandiſe in this Fayer, under payne of forfeiture, and theire bodyes to priſon, and to make fyne as it ſhall pleaſe y^e^ officers of y^e^ Univerſitie, and the regrater is he that byeth any of the ſayd things afore reherſed, or any other manner of marchandiſes of any man in this Fayre, and ſelleth again the ſayde things in the ſayd Fayre, inhawnſeing y^e^ price of any of the ſayd things more than it was before.

*Alſo* if theire be any perſon that will ſue for any perſonal action either for debt, victualles, injuri and

treſpas, or thinke themſelves wronged in any of the premiſſes or otherwiſe, let him complayne to my Lord Chauncellors Comeſarye and other officers of the Univerſitie, which ſhall hould and keep Courts daylie and howerlie in this fayer duringe y^e^ ſame to the intent y^t^ he ſhall be hard with lawful favour in right and conſcience and after the liberties of the ſame. *Alſo* that every butcher y^t^ bringeth fleſhe to ſell in this markett, that he ſell none of y^e^ Tallowe of all ſuch beaſtes as he ſhall bringe to ſell in this markett, but to ſuch Rafement and Tallowe chaundelers, as are dwellers within y^e^ Univerſitie, and precinct of the ſame; and they to make y^e^ ſaid Tallowe in good and lawfull candell, ſo y^t^ y^e^ ſaid Univerſitie, and Town of Cambridge, be in no wyſe diſappointed, but the better ſerved, & y^t^ you ſell not a pound of candles above 1d. and y^t^ y^e^ ſayd Butcher ſell not a ſton of Tallowe above viij d.

*Alſo* y^t^ every Innekeeper y^t^ keepeth Inne, y^t^ he have his bottels of hey well and lawfullie made and ſyſed and y^t^ every bottle way vij^li^, And that ye ſell not leſs than three horſe loves, good and lawful, for a penny, under y^e^ payne of puniſhment after the diſcretion of y^e^ officers of y^e^ Univerſity.

*Alſo* that every Carryer, y^t^ bringeth woode to ſell in this markett, that they bringe good wood, and yf it be faggott, let y^e^ faggot therof be well filled and ſized, and that everye faggott be full vij feet longe, and every faggott to have two bonds and xli faggotts in a load, well filled after y^e^ ſaid lenght, under y^e^ payne of forfeiture.

*Alſo* that every Collier y^t^ bringeth charecool to

ſell, that every ſack called a quarter ſacke, hold viij buſhells, ſavinge y^t^ they be allowed for Culme breaking by the way, after y^e^ diſcretion of y^e^ officers of the Univerſitie, under y^e^ payne of forfeiture.

*Alſo* that every perſon y^t^ bringeth grayne to ſell in this markett, y^t^ they open not before Tenne of y^e^ clocke, nor to ſtand after one of y^e^ clock, under ye payne of forfeiture.

How long this form of Proclamation remained in force does not appear, but probably for ſeveral centuries later. See 1855. It is ſeen that regulations againſt adulteration and other wrongdoings of traders, are not ſo modern as is ſometimes ſuppoſed.

About this period, and probably earlier, a piece of ſtuff for a gown was bought for every fellow of St. John's College at this fair. See "Early Stat. of St. John's Col. Cambr." 1859.

# CHAPTER X.

## SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1550.

FOR the better preſervation of peace during the fair the Lieutenants and Commiſſioners of the Univerſity ordered a "night watch" to be kept by the ſcholars and townſmen. The colleges were to ſupply the watchmen to the number of twenty in the aggregate "to be thir in redynes, harneſhed and weponed, befor the bell of S[t] Johns at vii of the clock be ceaſed; in defawt whereof every college in whom ſuch defawt ſhal be, to paye to the Proctours xii *d*, wherewith to find other in their roms" *Item*, that over and beyond the ſaid number the ſaid Colleges have in redynes other xxiiii according to the rate aforeſaid.

The town paid £2 4*s*. 4*d*. to the bailiffs and others "for monye ſpent at the watche in Stirbridge fayer." Theſe watchmen wore red coats and went

the round of the fair every half hour, calling out luſtily "Look about you there."

*Pewterers Company of London.*—On the 10th Sept. in this fair the Wardens of the Pewterers Company of London ſeized certain ſalt-ſellers, pots and covers of pewter, which were of inſufficient metal, and which they therefore alleged to be forfeited. The ſearchers of the Univerſity and Town, however, claimed excluſive juriſdiction of the Fair, and took the pewter from the Wardens, who exhibited an information in the Exchequer againſt one of the Eſquire Bedels and one of the Searchers; but on the 21ſt Nov. the Privy Council ſent the following letter to the Wardens:

Whereas the Univerſitie of Cambridge have bi the kings majeſtie, and other his noble projenitours, charters, among other things the viewe, ſerche, correction, and forfeture, of all pewter that comyth to Sturbrige fayr unmerchantable, and youe John Daye and Stephan Rowlandſon intermedled with the ſerche therof clayming the moytie of all ſuch pewter as ther was found forfeted, and being therof denyed have put in to the kings majeſties court of the eſchekyr for the recovery of the ſayde moytie, an information agaynſt John Mere one of the bedels for the ſaid univerſitie, and the officer appointed with other for the ſerche therof aforeſayd. The kings majeſties pleaſure is, for ſaving of the ſayd privileges, that youe procede no further therin, but ſuffer the ſame to ſtaye and hang untyl his majeſties wyll be further knowen, and this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant for the ſame. Fare ye wel,

From the Kings palace of Weſtminſter, y^e^ xxi November, 1550.

Your lovyng Friends
EDW. SOMERSET, T. CANT. J. WARWICKE.
J. BEDFORD W. NORTH[AMPTON], ED.
CLYNTON. W. PAGET, T. ELY,

There is a letter of the King's (Edward VI.) extant which ſhows preciſely why the Council took this courſe:

Aftre our hartie comendacions; wheras contrary to certain privileges graunted by the kings majeſtie and his noble progenitours unto his univerſitie of Cambridge oone John Daye and Stephan Rolandſon wardens of the crafte and miſtery of the pewterers within the citie of London, have put in a certaine information with you in the King's courte of Thexcheker againſt John Meare oone of the kings bedells for the univerſitie of Cambridge for certaine pewter ſeaſed unto the king's uſe at the laſt Sturbridge feare, his highneſs' pleaſure is that you proceade no further to judgement therein, but ſuffre the ſame to ſtay and hange untill his majeſtie's will be further knowne, and theſe ſhall be your ſufficient warrant for the ſame. Fare you well, from the kings majiſtie's palace of Weſtminſter the 22 of November 1550

Your loving frend.

This ſent to the barons of th' Exchequer from the counſayl.

Item another to the promoters ut infra by the ſame counſaylors.

In the accounts of the Fair of this year are the following items—the reſult probably of cauſes heard by the Court of Piepowder—recorded thus: "receyved bi the Bedel and the Townſmen & partly found by promoters":

| | |
|---|---|
| Rychard Lylye of Stow of Thold [Stow-in-the-Wold] in Gloſſeterſhere hathe put to ſale contrary to the Statute vii peces of welſhe freſe and hathe paid for his fyne to Draper the partye that ſued xx *s*, and for the quenes parte . . | vi *s*. |
| Receyved of Mr Caree of Bryſtow for xv peces of karſey put to ſale contrarye to the ſtatute . . . | iii l. |
| And of Maye for felts forfeited . | v s. iiii d. |
| Receyved of Tho. Mate for 11 karſeys and 1 freſe . . . . | xxx s. |
| Receyved of Mr. Ryngſted for exchaunge old ſylver and from John Holls xxv s. whereof Tho. Gardener the promoter had xx s. and v s. for the quene. | |
| Receyved of Thomas Daye for iii peces of karſaye put to ſale contrarye to the act and ſeaſed for the quene . . . . . | xxx s. |
| Receyved of the 11 Streaches and Bowldry of Walden for clothes forfeyted . . . . . | x s. |
| Receyved of the Wardens of the Pewterers for pewter forfeited . . | viii s. iiii d. |

Receyved of Smythe Twyffyn and Hadſtack for . . . . ii s. viii d.
Receyved of Mr Coxe of Bryſtow for viii peces . . . . . xl s.
Receyved of Mr. Chambers Habberdaſher for a . . . cappe ſold .
Receyved of Mr. Kytchyn Goldſmith for byeinge of . . . . x s.
Receyved of Mr. Hamlett for mattreſſes forfeyted . . . . v s.
Receyved of Geo. Alys for the lyke. v s.

At the bottom of the page, in a different handwriting are the three following items of diſburſement:

*Item*, for the women for the ſewing . ii *s.*
*Item*, paid Wyllm Grange for a cappe ii *s.* iiii *d.*
*Item*, for our chargys at the fayre . x *s.*

*New Charter.*—1553. On the Feaſt of St. Mark the Evangeliſt, it was agreed by the Mayor, Alderman and Twenty-four, that the Town for their poſſeſſions and the other poſſeſſioners [owners of ſtalls and booths] in Sturbridge fair, ſhould pay the King (Edward VI.) 1000 marks for the fine for Sturbridge Fair; that the body of the town ſhould pay one half of all charges of obtaining the new charter, and the town for their poſſeſſions and the other poſſeſſioners to pay the other half. It was alſo agreed that the Recorder and others ſhould have authority under the Common Seal to ſue to the King's majeſty and his honourable Council for

a new Charter for the fair; and further that Mr. Robert Chapman and Mr. John Ruſt ſhould pay no money towards the charges of the charter, in conſideration of their pains in obtaining thereof, and £90 1*s.* 0*d.* was paid then towards the firſt inſtalment of 200 marks for the King's fine.

The Charter was not however obtained in this reign, though the 200 marks were actually paid. "Annals," ii. p. 70. See 1555, 1561, 1574, 1576, 1577, 1584, 1589—when new Charter was obtained by the town.

1555. 30 Jany. The Mayor, Aldermen, Twenty-four and Bailiffs gave authority to Mr. Robt. Chapman and Mr. John Ruſt to go to London to make ſuit to the Council touching the ſupplication made to them for the payment of the 800 marks; and for the ſetting forth and making the patent for the confirmation of Sturbridge fair.

1556. The queſtion of Lynn Fair—apparently as to its revival—came on again this year, and on 2nd Aug. the Corporation ordered that the Mayor, Mr. Chapman, and Mr. Ruſt ſhould frame an anſwer to a letter from the Biſhop of Ely concerning Lynn Fair, and make objections in ſhewing why the ſame ought not to be had; and that the Town Clerk ſhould carry the anſwer to his Lordſhip.

1557. On 23 June the King and Queen (Philip and Mary) by letters patent, granted to the Mayor, bailiffs and burgeſſes, a certain annual rent of £8 15*s.* 2*d.* iſſuing out of ſhops and booths in Sturbridge, which had been granted for the main-

tenance of *obiits* and anniverſaries (ſee 1459, 1496, 1503, 1547), and alms to the poor of the town. The letters patent ſtate, that this Rent had been ſeized into the hands of the Crown, under the ſtatute of Chantries (1547) and that £6 10*s.* 6*d.* part thereof had been paid to the mayor, bailiffs and burgeſſes for diſtribution amongſt the poor. This is expreſſed to be made from the King and Queen, that the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church ſhould be maintained, and the wills of the donors performed! And alſo becauſe the ſhops and booths in Sturbridge Fair, *being of cuſtomary tenure, were not within the Statute of Chantries.*

The ſame King and Queen granted the following tolls payable for the merchandiſe brought to the fair. This is important as ſhowing the nature of the goods brought at this period:

*Cuſtom and Toll due in the time of Sturbridge Fair for divers wares brought thither:*

| | |
|---|---|
| For every cade of red herrings at the bying . | 1 d. |
| For 100 of ling . . . . . | 6 |
| For every 100 of wabboks ling . . . . | 4 |
| For every 100 of codds . . . . . | 4 |
| For every 100 of wabboks codds . . | 2 |
| For every heap of fiſh to be retailed laid upon a mat of the old aſſize . . . | 2 |
| Of every jule of cured fiſh for groundage . | 2 |
| Of grinſtones every foot . . . . . | ½ |
| Of every perſon that retaileth ſoap, for his ſtanding in the fair . . . . . | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Of every hundred wainſcot . . . | 8 d. |
| Of every dicker of leather . . . . | 2 |
| Of every 100 calf-ſkins . . . . | 4 |
| Of every 100 ſheep-ſkins . . . . | 2 |
| For groundage of every load of pales, ſhovels, pack-ſaddles, cart-saddles, and goddends . | 4 |
| Of every great ſalt-ſtone . . . . | 2 |
| Of every buſhel of muſtard ſeed . . . | ½ |
| Of every load of baſkets, farms ſkepps leeper and ſuch other . . . . . | 4 |
| Of every ſtranger ſelling freſhwater fiſh in kemblin . . . . . | 1 |
| Of every cart load of oiſters for cart and ſtanding . . . . . | 4 |
| Item a barrel of oſmonds . . . . | 2 |
| Item a barrel of pitch . . . . | 2 |
| Item a barrel of tar . . . . . | 2 |
| Item a barrell of herrings . . . . | 2 |
| Item a barrell of cork for dying . . . | 2 |
| Item for every barrel of cured fiſh . . | 2 |
| Item a barrel of ſalmon . . . . | 4 |
| Item a barrel of oil . . . . . | 4 |
| Item a barrel of honey . . . . | 4 |
| Item of ſturgeon a barrel . . . . | 4 |
| Item a barrel of ſope . . . . . | 4 |
| Item a barrel of eels . . . . . | 4 |
| Item a barrel of birdlime . . . . | 4 |
| Item cart laden with poles . . . . | 1 |
| Of every cart loaden with heboldines . . | 1 |
| Of every horſe with a wombtye loaden . | ½ |
| Of every cart loaden with beyondſea claſs-hold . . . . . | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Item 100 of beyondſea claſshold for groundage | 1 d. |
| Of every cart loaden with Engliſh claſshold and lying down . . . . . | 2 |
| Of every horſe ſold . . . . . | 1 |
| Of every load of hobboldynes for groundage | 1 |
| Of every cart loaden with faggots, beſides the fall penny . . . . . | ½ |
| Of every cart loaden with ſmiths coals . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with timber . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with lathes . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with boards . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with cheeſe . . | 2 |
| Of every load of boards, hurdles, ſpokes, and lathes, for groundage . . . . | 2 |
| Of every load of hewn timber for groundage | 2 |
| Of every ſodder of lead, for groundage . | 2 |
| Of every cart or wayne loaden with lead, for groundage . . . . . | 2 |
| Of every load of iron, for groundage if he have no booth . . . . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with iron, for laying down . . . . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with hayres . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with ſackcloath . . | 2 |
| Of every cart loaden with any manner of merchandize then aforeſaid, at lying down, beſides the groundage . . . . . | 2 |
| Of every cart or wayne loaden with nails, at lying down . . . . . | 2 |
| Of every perſon ſelling nails, for groundage . | 6 |
| Of every keel or boat that beareth a helm, as oft as he cometh . . . . . | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Of every keel or boat that beareth no helm, as oft as he cometh . . . . . | 1 d. |
| Of every heap of coals, . . . . . | 4 |
| Of every cart loaden with merchandize diſcharged at Barnwell, . . . . . | 2 |
| Of every cart charged with merchandize at Barnwell, other than the inhabitants' goods of Cambridge, coming from the Barnwell to the fair and there diſcharge, . . | 1 |
| Of every cart charged with the inhabitants' goods at Cambridge or at Barnwell and diſcharged at the fair . . . . . | ½ |
| Of every cart loaden with merchandize or wayne goying out of the fair, . . . | 2 |

1558. The Univerſity of Cambridge being in want of money the queſtion was again raiſed (ſee 1547) of ſelling to the Corporation of Cambridge all privileges in this fair. The propoſal met with ſtrong and ſucceſsful oppoſition from the Provoſt of King's College (*vide* Fuller's "Hiſt. of Univ. of Camb."). In the "Hiſtory and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey," 1786 (p. 78, part ii.) there is the following: "Robert Braſſil . . . who being Vice chancellor, in 1558, was much commended for his wiſdome in withſtanding the heads & maſters of Colleges in this univerſitie; when, as they had all except him, conſented & concluded to ſell all their wrightes and juriſdictions in Sturbridge Faire to the mayor, bayliffes & burgeſſes of the towne of Cambridge."

*Drapers, Merchant Taylors, and Clothworkers of*

*London.*—On 3rd Sept. 1557, a letter was addreſſed to the Vice-chancellor and Proctors of the Univerſity by Nicholas Hethe Archbiſhop of York, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Thomas Thirleby, Biſhop of Ely, ſtating that complaint had been made unto them by the Drapers, Merchant Tailors, and Clothworkers of the City of London, that they repairing theretofore with their cloths to Sturbridge fair, had been troubled in the ſale thereof, through unlawful ſearches pretended by divers light perſons more for their own private gain and the vexation of the merchants than for any good intent to have the Statutes duly executed. Their Lordſhips therefore required, that in future no ſuch unlawful ſearches ſhould be made by any ſuch light perſons, and that merchants ſhould not be otherwiſe diſquieted or ordered than was ordained and provided by the Statutes of the realm. "Annals of Camb." ii. p. 135.

1559. There were again diſputes between the Univerſity and Town of Cambridge reſpecting the watch at time of the fair. The following memorandum drawn up by the mayor embodies the the views of Lord North and the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas thereon:

After our verye harty commendacions, Where we of late with the adviſe and conſent of the reſt of the Juſtices of peace of this Shire take order for the better & more quyet governement of this ſhire, That duringe this Stirbridge fayre tyme the watches for the Univerſitie & Towne of Cambridge ſholde lovinglie joyne togither & be dubled, whereof our

verye frende Mr Baron Frevyll dyd take upon him to advertyſe you of the ſame, by occaſion wherof we dyd forbear to wryte unto you therein. We now ar enformed that ye ar not as yet fully agreed to joyne togither in the execucion of the ſame for certaine reſpects that ye have to the preſervation of your liberties, Wherefore we do feare great inconveniens and perill may growe, onles ye do ſpedelye conforme yourſelves thereunto. Theſe are therefore to advertyſe you & requyre you for the more quietnes of this cuntrye & Towne, and for the Queenes Majeſties better ſervyſe that ye forthewith conjoin yourſelves togithers accordinglie, notwithſtandinge any perſuaſion to either of you to the contrarye.

And furthermore underſtandinge that there ar allredie a nombre of Sturdye Vacabonds & maſterles men come unto Cambridg for ſome yll purpoſe as it is ſuppoſed; We therefore do likewyſe deſyer & requyre you in hir majeſties behalfe, that ye do take a great reſpect unto the apprehendinge of them, and to the ſafe keepinge of them untill the faire be paſt. We meane ſuch as come not to the intent to labor, or otherwiſe lawfullie to get their livinge prayenge you that if upon eny examinacion of anye of them ye ſhall fynde eny matter worthye to be further examined & tryed out, to advertyſe us immediatelie therof ſo that we maye y^e^ better ayed & aſſiſt you for your better ſervice & procedinge in the ſame, nothinge doubtinge but y^e^ will lovinglye & effectually conſider the premiſſes in ſuche wyſe as both you and me maye avoide diſ-

pleaſure and blame. And thus we byd you hartelye farewell. From Carleton this Mondaye, the iiij of Septembre, A° 1559.

1561. The Corporation appear to have renewed their application for a grant of the fair. It was ordered that the expenſe of the inquiſition for the new charter ſhould be borne by the town.

1562. There was a great flood, ſo that the portion of Sturbridge called the "Waterfair" could not be occupied by the booths accuſtomably built there. Whereupon the Corporation directed Robert Chapman and others to aſſign another place for ſuch booths for this year's fair only.

1567. This year George Aylſton, merchant, on behalf of the Corporation of *Sudbury* inſtituted proceedings in the Duchy Court of Lancaſter againſt Chriſtopher Fletcher alderman of Cambridge, for taking his goods at this fair. Fletcher alleged that he took the goods as a diſtreſs damage feaſant, and it ſeems had a decree in his favour.

1568. *Citizens of London.*—On 4th Nov. the the Corporation of Cambridge deputed Roger Lord North the mayor, Francis Hinde Eſq., and the Counſel-at-law of the town to deliberate in what way it could be contrived that the citizens of London might return to Sturbridge fair, as of old they were accuſtomed. "Annals," ii. p. 235.

1571. As early as 1545 there had been paſſed by the Corporation of Cambridge "an Ordinance for the ſetting of Willows." This ordinance "for planting willows on the commons, drains, moors, marſhes and fens of the town" was renewed this

year. Every alderman might ſet ſix ſcore of poles and every burgeſs four ſcore up the banks of any ſurface, drains, ditches, &c. They to lop and top for their own uſe and advantage, cleanſing from time to time the drains &c. on which the ſame were planted. The ſaid willows to be held on the ſame terms as the booths at Sturbridge fair were held by the burgeſſes, &c. See 1575.

1574. On the 21ſt Nov. Dr. Perne, Vice-chancellor, wrote to Lord Burleigh on the ſubject of the Plague viſitation in Cambridge, and in the poſtſcript to the letter made the ſuggeſtion of a new charter being granted to the Univerſity as follows:

I am enformed that there is ſute made to y^e^ Queen's majeſtie by ſome of her highneſſe privie chamber for Sturbridg faire, for that it hath ſtand ſeaſed unto her highnes hand ſithence y^e^ tyme of the raign of her highnes father, the w^h^ if it might pleaſe her highnes to beſtowe to the Univerſity, there might be ſuch a worthie and perpetual monement made by the rent thereof, as her majeſtie did moſt gratiouſly promiſe at her laſt beinge at Cambridg in her highnes Oration made there, & the Towneſmen that be nowe occupiers thereof, yeldinge a reaſonable rent to y^e^ univerſity for their ſeverall boothes. Thus I am bold to put your honor in mynd of this, referringe the whole matter to your honors beſt conſideracion to do herein as yow ſhall thinke good.

1575. At a Common Day held in the Round Church (probably on account of the Plague being near the Guildhall) on the 25th March the Corpora-

tion made a Declaration as to the tenure of booths at Sturbridge fair of which the following are the principal portions:

Foraſmuch as ſome queſtion hath bene made of the maner of tenure of booths in Sturbridge Fayer, ſome houlding one opinion, & ſome another, everie man ſpeakinge his fantaſie therein, affirminge his owne opinion to be the true cuſtome, and that it ought to ſtande for truethe; for that it hath not bene generally knowne to all men whether any Cuſtome hath remained written in any records of this towne concerninge the ſame fayre, yea or no:

Commandment therefore had been given to the Town Clerk to ſearch the records of the town. This had been done and "it is founde in the oulde and ancient record called the Croſs Booke of the ſayde Towne, that remaineth there written." This I have already given, under date 1403. The ſame was reaffirmed; and it was now ordered that every burgeſs claiming a booth muſt have his title thereto entered in a book to be kept by the Corporation for that purpoſe; and thereafter he might alienate the ſame to any other free burgeſs by due entry in the ſaid book in manner and form provided.

1576. 8th Dec. The Corporation ſealed a power of attorney (dated 30th Nov.) authorizing the Recorder and others named to act in all matters before the Queen and her Council, and in all cauſes and buſineſſes touching the town, particularly the redemption and confirmation of Sturbridge Fair. To this end the Corporation empowered the Mayor and others to rate the poſſeſſioners of booths in the

fair towards the payment of 1000 marks for the fine for the fair.

On 13th of ſame month Lord Burleigh the Chancellor, and the Earl of Leiceſter High Steward of the Univerſity wrote to Dr. Goad the Vice-chancellor, deſiring that there might be a conference between the heads of the Univerſity and Town relative to the contemplated grant of the fair. Lord Burleigh it ſeems had obtained from the Queen a declaration that no petition of the townſmen reſpecting their fair ſhould be received to the prejudice of the Univerſity.

A meeting took place early in the following year but no friendly underſtanding could be arrived at.

1577. The matter of renewing the charter of the fair was again before the Queen. On a petition being preſented on behalf of the Corporation the Royal reply was "that ſhe would not take away any privileges that ſhe had granted the Univerſity, but would rather add to them"; and for this declaration the Univerſity returned her a letter of thanks. "Annals," ii. 358.

At the fair this year the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the Corporation ordered a haberdaſhery booth to be pulled down. Reaſon not ſtated. The Corporation ſuſtained the order.

The following articles were purchaſed at the fair for the houſehold of Lord North. The record of prices is particularly important:

A C. Salt Fiſh, Lix$^{s}$; whight ſalt, iij ſtone, 1 qt. iij lb. xiij$^{s}$; bay ſalt, iij qt. Lvj$^{s}$; 2 kettles, xiij$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$; ix duſt baſkets, iiij$^{s}$; vj pailes, ij$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$; 2 firkins of ſoape,

xxix$^{s}$; Feather bed tike, xix$^{s}$; a Jacke ij$^{s}$ ij$^{d}$; a frieng panne, ij$^{s}$ ij$^{d}$ hors meat xvj$^{d}$; 20 lb. of raiſſins, v$^{s}$; 20 lb. Corants, vij$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$; 10 lb. prewens, xx$^{s}$; Liiij lb. gon Powder, Lviij$^{s}$ vjd.; 14 lb. of matches, iij$^{s}$ ix$^{d}$; dogg cowples xx$^{d}$; 10 lb. Sugar, xij$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$.

1578. The "proviſion bought at Sturbridge Fayer" for the houſehold of Lord North this year, compriſed: Codds bought ccccli. vij$^{li}$ xv$^{s}$; Soape bought 2 firkins xxviij$^{s}$; Salte bought iij$^{li}$ xiij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$; Lynen clothe pd. for xxxvij$^{s}$.

1584. An unſucceſsful attempt at accommodation between the Univerſity and the Town was made in 1580. The former ſought for additional privileges which the latter would not grant. This year a more ſucceſsful attempt was made, and except upon three points, the parties had agreed to "both books" (*i.e.* draft charters). The points were theſe:

1. As to an interpretation of "common miniſters."

2. The demand of the Univerſity is unreaſonable to have all graduates in England go toll free. "That the towne aſſentith as they ment it at the firſt, That all graduates for lernings ſake abydyng in the Univerſety or Towne ſhall goe toll free."

3. The town had already aſſented that the Univerſity ſhould have more retained ſervants than they had before. "But ſquyre beadalles ſhould eche of them have one reteyned ſervaunt priviledged (being themſelves but ſervauntes), The Towne thinkith it inconvenient, and neither did, nor yet doth aſſent therunto: for all other matters concerning both bookes, both parties are agreed. So as that be

perfourmed which hath bene concluded in former conferences."

1586. The negociations between the Univerſity and the Towne were renewed this year. The following document ſhows the poſition of the negociation, as alſo that the town were to have the new charter; it alſo ſhows the extreme jealouſy with which each body viewed the acts and proceedings of the other —it was a genteel manifeſtation of "Town and Gown" divergencies, which have become hiſtorical:

*Sturbridge.* The towne hath obtained of her majeſtie a graunt of Sturbridge feyre, to the booke of that graunt the univerſitie addith a proviſo to this effect viz that neither that graunt nor anything therein conteyned ſhould any ways prejudice the univerſitie of Cambridge, or any member thereof, in ſuch thinges as the univerſitie enjoyed before the ſayd graunt! The towne ſayth that that proviſo is to large, foraſmuch as it may be extended to all thinges which the univerſitie befor enjoyed, as well within the feyr as els whear, we confeſſe it is ſo; and we ſay it is great reaſon it ſhould be ſo, leaſt under the colour and pretenſe of Sturbridge feyre, they might carry away ſome other of our commodities w^h^ her highneſs never meant. So ſhortly we ſay thus muche; ſeing our proviſo is nothing but a reſtreint of their book: How farre ſo ever their book reachith, ſo farre reachith our proviſo and no further.

This is the brief our preſent difference, &c. &c.

This year was ſimplified the form of proceſſion

made in proceeding to read the Proclamation of the Univerſity.

*New Charters.*—1589. The proceedings already recorded (with ſome others in 1587 not ſpecifically referred to) ended in the grant of new charters of the fair to the Town and alſo to the Univerſity of Cambridge reſpectively. The charter to the town paſſed the Great Seal at Drayton on 15th Aug.; that to the Univerſity on 30th Aug.

The charter to the *Town* commences with a recital that previouſly to the 30 Henry VIII. the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeſſes had from time immemorial had and uſed a fair called Sturbridge Fair held at Barnwell and Sturbridge, in the county of Cambridge and within the liberty of the town, beginning on the Feaſt of St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle, and continuing from thence till the fourteenth day next after the Feaſt of the Exaltation of the Holy Croſs; which fair, from the advantages of the place, its contiguity to the Univerſity, and the fitneſs of the ſeaſon, *far ſurpaſſed the greateſt and moſt celebrated fairs of all England; whence great benefits had reſulted to the merchants of the whole kingdom, who reſorted thereto, and there quickly ſold their wares and merchandiſes to purchaſers coming from all parts of the Realm* to buy and provide ſalt-fiſh, butter, cheeſe, honey, ſalt, flax, hemp, pitch, tar, and all other wares and merchandiſes, and from the profits of which fair the mayor, bailiffs and burgeſſes levied the greateſt part of their fee farm, and ſupported and maintained the town in its ways, ſtreets, ditches [ſewers] and other burthens.

Of the Quo Warrant in the 30th Henry VIII. and the ſubſequent proceedings thereon. The Queen had been requeſted to grant a charter and had aſſented "moved thereto by royal pity, by a ſenſe of the utility of the fair to the town and to the merchants of the kingdom, and that the town ſhould be lightened in its burthens, and increaſed and honoured under her proſperous and peaceful government." The Queen therefore delivered out of her hands and conferred to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeſſes and their ſucceſſors, the fair in queſtion, with all profits, commodities, courts, profits of courts, authorities and juriſdictions, booths and power of building booths in the accuſtomed places in the fair.

All rights had or enjoyed by the *Univerſity*, or its officers under any gift, grant, or confirmation from the crown, or any act of parliament, or "uſed for the greater part of 20 years then laſt paſt" were reſerved to it.

Power given to Corporation to make rules and ſtatutes for the peaceful and quiet government of the fair; and with reſpect to the building and removing of booths, and the diſpoſition and aſſurance thereof by will, gift, ſurrender or otherwiſe; and alſo for placing the ſeveral arts, occupations, myſteries, merchants, workmen, and others holding booths in the fair in the places aſſigned and accuſtomed to the ſame arts &c and eſpecially in that part of the fair called Cheapſide. Such Ordinances &c not to prejudice the right, title, or intereſt of burgeſſes holding or poſſeſſing booths according to the cuſtoms and ordinances of the town, or to dero-

gate from the privileges of the Chancellor, maſters, and ſcholars uſed during the greater part of twenty years then laſt paſt. New rules might be altered and revoked as circumſtances ſhould require.

The ſellers of mercery or grocery ware were forbidden to be ſtationed or to occupy any booth in the fair for ſelling ſuch wares except in Cheapſide. Woollen cloths were to be expoſed for ſale only in the "Duddery." Goldſmiths were not to be ſtationed, or expoſe their goods to ſale any where except in Soper Lane, otherwiſe Goldſmith's Row; and pewterers and braziers were in like manner to be confined to Pewtry Row and Brazier Row.

The burgeſſes who held any booth for life or years, or who ſhould afterwards acquire any, were to hold the ſame as theretofore.

The charter to the *Univerſity*, expreſſed to have been granted by the authority of parliament, contains proviſions relating to the town as well as to the fair. I ſhall confine my abſtract to the latter. It was granted out of love of the Univerſity, to confirm and eſtabliſh the privileges, liberties, immunities, pre-eminences, authorities, powers, juriſdictions, profits and commodities of that body in Sturbridge Fair, as granted by the charter ſhe had given in the 3rd year of her reign. She granted to the Chancellor maſters and ſcholars and their ſucceſſors ſolely and wholly for ever the office of "Clerk of the Market," and the aſſay of bread, wine, and ale or beer, and the keeping and governance of the ſame and the correction and puniſhment of offenders, with the fines, forfeitures and amerciaments thence ariſing in

the fair and the precincts of the ſame. Alſo the ſuperviſion of meaſures and weights, and the juriſdiction to inquire of all foreſtallings, regratings, and ingroſſing of victuals and other things and wares within the fair or its bounds and precincts, and to baniſh, chaſtiſe, and correct according to the laws of the realm and the cuſtoms of the Univerſity. Alſo right of ſearch in the fair for harlots and vagabonds.

The proclamation of the fair was to be made by the Univerſity and Town in alternate years. All goods carried to or by the fair, or to the town, or in the river to the uſe of the Chancellors, maſters, ſcholars, or colleges, or to or for any of the graduates reſiding within the town or Univerſity, or within five miles thereof to be *free of toll.*

The Univerſity to have excluſive juriſdiction in ſuits wherein ſcholars, ſcholars ſervants "or common miniſter of the Univerſity" were one of the parties. Alſo to hear and determine plaints concerning victuals or contract for victuals ariſing in the fair, except in caſes between a burgeſs and a foreigner not privileged of the Univerſity, which ſhould be heard before the Mayor, &c. The court of the Chancellor &c within the fair to be a court of record with all powers according to the ſtatutes of the realm, or the laws and cuſtoms of the Univerſity. The laſt named court to be held within the fair or its precincts, and the Queen granted a ſufficient piece of ground for the purpoſe. But if by flood or other chance the accuſtomed place ſhould be unfit another place was to be provided.

The Univerſity to have excluſive authority to inſpect, ſearch, try, aſſay and gauge all victuals in the fair. The daily inſpection and ſearch of all other wares (except leather and ſackcloth) to be made by four ſuitable men, appointed by the Chancellor and Mayor reſpectively. And the court for adjudication upon the ſame to be held by the Chancellor and Mayor in alternate years, each aiding the other in the performance of the duties. The remaining numerous proviſions are not neceſſary to be cited in view of our preſent purpoſes.

It was the belief of the townſpeople that this charter to the Univerſity had been obtained by reaſon of a betrayal of the rights of the town by the then Mayor. And the following was recorded at the foot of a tranſcript of this charter. "One Gawnt was Mayor of Cambridge, who att London aſſented to theſe new juriſdictions of the Univerſitie, and therein betrayed the towne, who ſhortlie after was putt [out!] of his Aldermanſhipp & lived the remaynder of his life in great want and miſerie, and hatefull to all the townſmen."

1591. On 30th Aug. the Corporation made orders that all the proviſoes, conditions and articles contained in the new charter touching booths in Sturbridge Fair, ſhould be inviolably kept and obſerved in all points, according to the tenor, true intent and meaning of ſuch charter: that it ſhould not be lawful to any tenant or owner of any booth to admit or ſuffer any merchants or artificers of ſundry wares to ſtand and ſell wares in one booth: and that it ſhould not be lawful to any merchants

or others bringing wares to Sturbridge Fair to ſell any wares, except ſalt, out of any veſſels upon the water there, until the fiſh booths were let to farm.

On 15th Sept. Richard Pariſh of Cheſterton "a very violent and turbulent perſon, attacked and wounded with a dagger ſome ſcholars who were with him in the ferry-boat between Cheſterton and Sturbridge Fair. He was arreſted by a maſter of arts of Trinity College and others, but was reſcoued from them by the prentiſes in the faire." A new manifeſtation of the "town and gown" troubles.

1592. On 28th Aug. the Corporation of Cambridge made orders that none but freemen ſhould, in time of Sturbridge Fair, ſell and deliver fiſh in any hut or veſſel on the water, until the fiſh booths in the water-fair were let, and then to make compoſition with the bailiff of the ward. And that all except freemen, who brought pitch and tar to the fair to be ſold, ſhould pay 2*s.* per laſt for grinding to the bailiff of the ward; and that if any ſuit or controverſy at law ſhould ariſe about executing the premiſes, the charges ſhould be borne by a levy to be aſſeſſed upon the burgeſſes.

1595. Memorandum, that this daye and yeare by a common conſente, it is agreed, that the order made . . Feby anno Regni Hen. Octavi 13° concerninge enjoyers of booths to dwell within the towne; and ſhewinge in what time he ſhall ſell them yf he go out of the towne, ſhall ſtand, remaine and be in full force and effecte; and that no maior of the towne of Cambridge from henceforthe ſhall propounde any grace, or do any acte or actes,

deviſe or deviſes whatſoever, to the breache or violating thereof; and that the maior of this towne, yearly to be choſen, on the daie of his election, or on the daye that he taketh the oathe againſt vintinge, ſhall make ſolemn oathe to the obſervation hereof. "Hiſt. and Antiq. of Barnwell Abbey" (p. 96, part ii.).

1596. 16th Aug. The Corporation made an order that every burgeſs who ſhould thereafter buy any booth or booth-ground in this fair ſhould at the time of his admiſſion thereto, make ſolemn oath before the mayor, that he had bought the ſame ſimply to the uſe of himſelf and his heirs, and not to the uſe of any foreigner or foreigners, without fraud, colluſion, or deceit.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

### 1600.

ON 16th Aug. the Corporation of Cambridge made ordinances that no bailiff ſhould "by any wayes, meanes, or culler whatſoever demiſe or lett to ferme his bayliwich within this Town or Fayers, or eny profitts belonging to the ſame, to eny perſone or perſones whatſoever, uppon payne of disfrannchiſinge."

1601. New cauſes of diſpute aroſe between the Univerſity and the Town, this time about the "King's beam" (*Pondus Regis*) or the right of the former to a beam for weighing articles ſold at the Fair. The Queen (Elizabeth) wrote to the parties:

To our loving friends the Vicechancellor and Proctors of the Univerſity of Cambridge and the Mayor Bailiffs and Burgeſſes of the Town:

Whereas there were at the laſt Sturbridge fair ſome contentions about a pair of ſcales uſed by you of the Univerſity: We require you of the Town in all peaceable ſort, to ſuffer the Univerſity to

exerciſe and uſe the ſame in the accuſtomed place as they have uſually done for the moſt of theſe ten years laſt paſt; and what contention ſoever ſhall ſeem to ariſe about the ſame ſcales, either for the intereſt of the ground whereon they are ſettled, or for the payment of any rent for the ſame: We think it fit and ſo we require of you, that it be peaceably reconciled hereafter in a lawful courſe, without giving any occaſion of diſorders. And ſo we heartily bid you farewell. Aug. 27, 1601.

1603. The kingdom was threatened with another viſitation of the plague. The new King (James I.) iſſued a Proclamation, dated from Hampton Court 8 Aug., whereby it was ordained that for "deſire of preventing an univerſal contagion among our people" (*inter alia*) Stourbridge Fair ſhould not be held nor anything appertaining to it at the time accuſtomed, "nor any time till they [it] ſhall have been licenſed by us."

1604. On 23rd July this year the King iſſued the following mandate, prohibiting all idle games, plays, or ſhows in or within five miles of Cambridge; and under its authority the regulations of the Fair were conſiderably modified:

James by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith, &c:

To our chancellor and vice-chancellor of our univerſity of Cambridge in the County of Cambridge, and to all and ſingular our juſtices of peace mayors ſheriffs bailiffs conſtables gaolers and all other our miniſters and officers within the ſaid

univerſity and the town of Cambridge and county aforeſaid and to every of them greeting,

*For* the better maintenance ſafety and quietneſs of that our ſaid univerſity and all and every the ſtudents there, and to remove take away and prevent all occaſions that may tend either to the infecting of their bodies or minds, or to the withdrawing or alienating the younger ſort from the courſes of their ſtudies there intended, we do by theſe preſents authorize will and command you our ſaid chancellor and vice-chancellor of our ſaid univerſity, and either of you and your ſucceſſors, that you do from time to time for ever hereafter by virtue hereof, wholly and altogether reſtraine inhibit and forbid as well all and all manner of unprofitable or idle games plays or exerciſes to be uſed or made within our ſaid univerſity and the town there, and within five miles compaſs of and from the ſaid univerſity and the town there, and within five miles compaſs of and from the ſaid univerſity and town, eſpecially bull-baiting, bear-baiting, common plays, publick ſhews, interludes, comedies and tragedies in the Engliſh tongue, games at loggets, nine-holes, and all other ſports and games whereby throngs concourſe or multitudes are drawn together, or whereby the younger ſort are or may be drawn or provoked to vain expence loſs of time or corruption of manners; as alſo all and all manner of perſons that ſhall go about to publiſh act ſet out or make any ſuch unprofitable or idle games publick plays or exerciſes within the ſaid univerſity or town or within five

miles compaſs of or from our ſaid univerſity or town, any indulgence, privilege, liberty or authority, by us granted or to be granted to any our officers or ſervants, or to any other perſon or perſons whomſoever, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

*Provided* that it is not our pleaſure and meaning hereby to abridge the ſtudents of their accuſtomed exerciſes in any kind whatſoever within their ſeveral colleges.

*And* if any perſon or perſons under colour pretence or virtue of any licence or authority by us or any other whomſoever granted or to be granted, or by any other means colour or pretence, ſhall reſiſt or refuſe peaceably to obey your commands herein, then our will and pleaſure is and we do hereby authorize you our ſaid chancellor and vice-chancellor of our ſaid univerſity, and either of you, and your ſucceſſors and deputy or deputies of you and either of you and your ſucceſſors, from time to time to apprehend all and every ſuch offenders, and them to commit to priſon either in the caſtle of Cambridge or any other goal within the town of Cambridge, there to remain without bail or mainprize until they ſhall willingly ſubmit themſelves to your ſaid commands and abide ſuch further order as to you in your diſcretions ſhall be thought meet; willing and by theſe preſents commanding all you our ſaid juſtices of peace, mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, conſtables and gaolers, and all other our ſaid miniſters and officers, that upon intimation and ſhew of this our will and command herein, you

and every of you being required thereto, ſhall be aiding and aſſiſting to our ſaid chancellor and vice-chancellor of our ſaid univerſity, and their ſucceſſors and their and either of their deputy or deputies from time to time in the due execution of the premiſes according to the purport and true intent hereof, as you will anſwer to the contrary at your peril.

*Given* under our ſignet at our palace of Weſtminſter, the three and twentieth day of July, in the ſecond year of our reign of England France and Ireland and of Scotland the ſeven and thirtieth.

1606. In the records of the Skinners Company there is an item under this date "To the wardens for their allowance in riding to Stourbridge Fair £3 : 6 : 8; and 13*s.* 4*d.* to me the Rector Warden for my pains." But very ſoon after this period there are ſigns of a falling-off in the importance of the fair in this particular: In 1616 it is the accountant who receives "in allowance towards his charges in riding to Stourbridge Fair £6." The wardens had ceaſed to attend perſonally.

1612. In the "Letters of Archbiſhop Williams" (1866) is one dated from the Proctors' booth in the fair this year.

1613. In Dr. Nathan Drake's "Shakeſpeare and his Times" it is recounted that at this date the fair had acquired ſo great a celebrity that Hackney coaches attended it from London. Subſequently not leſs than ſixty of thoſe coaches plied the fair (ſee 1688, &c.). He adds that vaſt quantities of butter and cheeſe found there a ready market; that

it ſtocked the people in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex with clothes and all other neceſſaries; and that the ſhopkeepers ſupplied themſelves from hence with the commodities wherein they dealt.

1615. On the 22nd June the Corporation ordered that Mr. French the mayor ſhould have an irrevokable power of attorney under the Town Seal to proſecute with effect all the ſuits already begun againſt thoſe who *kept any fair or market to the prejudice of the town*, and to commence and proſecute ſuits againſt all who had done or ſhould do the like; and it was ordered that all charges ſhould be paid by the treaſurers on demand.

1620. On 17th Sept., there was held a ſeſſion of Goal Delivery in Sturbridge Fair, in the place where the courts there were uſually kept ("Annals of Camb." iii. p. 136). No explanation of the circumſtance is given.

1622. The ſuit concerning the right to erect booths in the yard of Sturbridge Chapel which had been pending for ſome time was this year terminated. The Corporation obtained a grant of the Chapel from the Queen.

1625. In conſequence of the Plague again being prevalent in the kingdom Charles I. by Royal Proclamation forbids the holding of this, as alſo Bartholomew's Fair, by reaſon of the uſual "extraordinary reſort out of all parts of the kingdom" of perſons to attend this fair, which would if held lead to the common danger. This proclamation is given *in extenſo* in our chapter on "Legiſlation."

1630. The plague exiſting in Cambridge the holding of this, and alſo Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs, was prohibited by Royal Proclamation.

1633. A queſtion aroſe as to Dower, or the right to dower of the widows of booth-holders in this fair; and the Corporation on the 14th May enacted the following declaration:

The cuſtom in ſuch caſe is (and ſo hath ever time out of mind been uſed) that the relict and widow of her huſband (who in his life was ſeiſed of booths in Sturbridge fair) ſhall have her dower of ſuch booths only whereof her huſband was ſeiſed and died inteſtate. But where the huſband in his life time made ſale of his booths or deviſed them by his laſt will and teſtament, the wife and relict in ſuch caſe ſhall have no dower of any booths.

1636. The King (Charles I.) addreſſed a letter to the Vice-chancellor of the Univerſity and the mayor of Cambridge (dated Hampton Court, June 14), ſetting forth that the town had been often infected with the plague by means of perſons repairing to the fairs, with goods brought from infectious places, whereby the ſcholars had been forced to forſake their ſtudies and ſcatter themſelves for ſafety unto remote parts of the kingdom: to avoid the like miſchief from the contagion then raging in London and other places H. M. required the Vice-chancellor and Mayor to take order that Midſummer fair ſhould not be kept this year, nor the goods of Londoners or others be ſold within the town or three miles of the ſame. Refractory perſons were to be bound to appear before the King

or the Privy Council to anſwer the contempt, or on their refuſal might be committed to priſon. All juſtices of the peace of the county and town were commanded to be aiding and aſſiſting.

In conſequence of this letter it was feared that a ſimilar order might be made as to Sturbridge Fair; and accordingly on Common Day, held 2nd Aug. ſteps were taken by the townſmen in view of procuring this fair to be held. But the reſult was the following letter dated 21 Aug.

To our truſtie and wel beloved The maior & Aldemen of our Towne of Cambridge.

Charles R. Truſtie and wel beloved we greete you well, whereas out of our royal care of our Univerſitie and Towne of Cambridge, and to prevent the encreaſe and further ſpreading of the plague within our Kingdome by ſuch a publique concourſe of people as doth uſually reſort to Sturbridge faire from all parts thereof, wee have thought fitt to forbid the keepinge of the ſaid faire for this yeare, and have accordingly given order for ſignifyeing our royall pleaſure therein by a Proclamacion, which requireing ſome time for the ſolemne publicacion thereof; to y^e^ end ye may not in the meane while proceede to proclaime and ſett forth the precincts of the ſaid faire, as wee are informed that your cuſtome is to doe on the 24th of this preſente moneth, Wee doe by theſe our Letters declare our ſaid purpoſe to you of putting off the ſaid faire for this yeare. And in conſequence thereof, Our will and pleaſure is, That you now forbeare to make any ſuch preparacion to the ſaid Faire or to doe any act

whatſoever apperteyning thereunto, under paine of our royal diſpleaſure.

Given under our Signett at our Courte at the Caſtle of Warwicke, the 21th day of Auguſt, in the Twelfe yeare of our raigne 1636.

The Town Clerk, the Attorneys of the Town Court and other of the Corporation were ordered to attend at the fair-field to publiſh his majeſty's pleaſure and command. This was accordingly done on 24th Aug., the letter being read at the uſual place of proclaiming the fair.

A proclamation prohibiting the fair was iſſued; and although it bore date prior to the Royal letter was only received after it. The proclamation contained this paſſage:

. . . And his majeſty doth hereby further charge and command, under the like penalty, all Citizens and Inhabitants of his City of London, that none of them for this preſent year, ſhall bring or ſend any of their Goods or merchandize to *Ely*, *Newmarket*, or any other place near to the Univerſity of Cambridge, at or about the uſual time appointed for Sturbridge fair, which were but to transfer that fair to other places, with no leſs Danger of diſperſing the Sickneſs throughout the Kingdom. Given at our Court at Warwick Caſtle, the 20 day of Aug.

1637. The fair was alſo again prohibited on account of the prevalence of plague.

1638. Although the Plague prevailed this year alſo, it ſeems that the fair was held. On the 24th Aug. the Corporation impoſed a rate of 1*s.* in the £ on the booth-holders for defraying the

charges of procuring the fair to be kept again—"being otherwiſe in danger of being put by"; and for endeavour of a like nature in the two preceding years.

1644. A writer in the parliamentary intereſt referred to the "Goodly and full Fair" held at Sturbridge this year "with free trade and comforable commerce as was formerly accuſtomed in our former moſt peaceable times."

1647. The Univerſity complained to the Houſe of Lords againſt the bailiffs of the Corporation for contempt of the order of the Houſe in favour of the Univerſity in the matter of the "Stourbridge fayer privileges." The matter appears ſomewhat obſcure.

1649. This year an event occurred which had a conſiderable though indirect bearing upon this fair. The "Act for the Draining of the Great Level of the Fens" was paſſed. This led to conſiderable alterations in the navigation between Lynn and Cambridge. The tide, which formerly flowed up as far as Ely—bringing merchandiſe at eaſy charge up to that point—did not, on the completion of theſe works, come within twenty miles of that place. In 1653 the Univerſity and Corporation of Cambridge juſtly petitioned Parliament on the ſubject ("Annals of Camb." iii. p. 455). I believe no redreſs was obtained. There were obviouſly ſome counterbalancing advantages in leſſening the frequency of floods, and in rendering better roads poſſible.

1650. At a Common Day, held 24th Aug., the

Corporation, taking notice that of late years there had been controverſies about a preaching miniſter for Sturbridge Fair, agreed that the power of election being in the mayor and aldermen, ſuch preacher ſhould be elected yearly on the day of the election of mayor, bailiffs, and other officers. See 1710.

1654. About this time the Corporation of Cambridge erected a banqueting-room and court-houſe at Sturbridge fair. It was commonly called the Mayor's Houſe. At a later period (1670) ſome diſputes aroſe regarding this building being erected upon grounds ſubject to the right of commonage.

1655. When the office of "Lord of the Taps" was founded does not appear, but on the 20th Aug. this year the Corporation made the following order:—"It is agreed that xx$^{s}$ ſhall be given out of the moneys in the cheſt to Michael Wolfe towards the buyinge of a Coate againſt Sturbridge fayer now next enſuinge, he being Lord of the Taps this preſent yeare." The coat in queſtion was a crimſon one, gaily decorated with taps. The office of the Lord of the Taps was to taſte the ale in any or all the booths in the fair, and aſcertain if it were in ſuitable vendible condition. "Ned Ward" ſpeaks of this functionary (1700) as going "arm'd all over with ſpiggots and foſſets, like a porcupine with his quills, or looking rather like a fowl wrapped up in a pound of ſauſages."

1658. In "Worthington's Diary" there is an entry made at the Vice-chancellor's court at the fair. In Brathwaite's "Honeſt Ghoſt," publiſhed this year (p. 189), there occurs the following:—

"When th' fair is done, I to the colledg come,
Or elſe I drink with them at Trompington,
Craving their more acquaintance with my heart,
Till our next *Sturbridg faire;* and ſo we part."

Local events were aſſociated with the fair, as the moſt prominent recurring incident in the diſtrict, and dated by reference to it.

1660. Worthington ſpeaks of this fair as "the Carpenter's harveſt."

1665. The fair was again prohibited this year on account of the prevalence of the plague.

1666. The like by an order in Council "to prevent the ſpread of the infection."

1668. Pepys received ſo earneſt an invitation from his kinſman, Roger Pepys, that he reſolved to let his wife go to this fair. His entry, under date 15th Sept., is:—"Up by times . . . took wife and Mercer and Deb. and W. Horner (who are all to ſet out this day for Cambridge, to coſen Roger Pepys to ſee Sturbridge Fayre) . . . ſaw them gone, there being only one man in the coach beſide them." He probably followed ſome days after, or about the 29th; but unfortunately the diary is a blank up to 11th October. It would have been matter of ſome intereſt to know his views of this great gathering.

Edward Kemp preached a ſermon at St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, on the Sunday before the fair, which was publiſhed.

1673. In the Vice-chancellor's "Little Black Book" is given a copy of the following letter from Charles II. reſtoring to the Univerſity the right of

weighing hops, which had been aſſumed by the Town during the Civil War troubles :—

Charles R. Truſty and well beloved we greet you well. Whereas wee are informed from our Univerſity of Cambridge that ſeverall of their rights and priviledges (which they have heretofore injoyed by charter and cuſtome) have in theſe late yeares of publick diſtraction been intrenched upon by our towne of Cambridge, and ſome of the officers thereto belonging, particularly the right of ſetting up the ſole publick beame for the weighing of hops and other things of great bulk in Sturbridge faire, which did anciently belong to the ſaid Univerſity and their officers, and which as we are informed (beſides other evidences) appears by the acts of your courts regiſtred in the mayoralty of Mr Foxton. Now wee being deſirous to keepe a good correſpondence between our ſaid Univerſity and towne, and that either body ſhould enjoy their juſt rights, have thought fitt to requeſt you to permitt our Univerſity and their officers (till you ſhall ſhew ſufficient cauſe to the contrary) to enjoy without diſturbance the aforeſaid right of ſole weighing ſuch hops as ſhall be ſould at Sturbridge faire, together with all other their antient priviledges. And upon notice ſhall be carefull, that no intrenchment bee made upon any of thoſe rights which you may juſtly claime. Given under our ſignet manuell at our court of Whitehall the thirtieth day of Auguſt in the twelfth yeare of our reigne. (Signed) William Morrice.

To our truſty and well beloved the mayor and aldermen of the towne of Cambridge.

The original was delivered to Mr John Ewen, mayor, by me Matth. Whenn.

1677. The Corporation of Cambridge ordered the common ſeal to be affixed to a petition to the King for the prevention of a new fair at Maidſtone, which might be prejudicial to Sturbridge Fair. This oppoſition I aſſume had reference to the large trade in hops here tranſacted. (See hereon De Foe's account of this fair under date 1723.) There is this curious entry in the Corporation Common Day Book:—"It is agreed that Mr. Langley who took great paines in keeping of the Patent for the intended Faire at Maidſtone ſhall have two gynneys given him, to be paid by the Treaſurers."

1683. Dixon, in his "Canidia, or the Witches," publiſhed this year, ſays:—

> "A fire licking a Child's hair
> Was to be ſeen at *Sturbridge fair*,
> With a lambent flame, all over a ſweating mare."

And again:—

> "Women-dancers, Puppet-players,
> At Bartholomew and Sturbridge-Fairs."

1686. Mr. Millington, book auctioneer of London, ſold in Cooks' Row in the fair this year (8th Sept.) the library of James Chamberlain, fellow of St. John's College (1700).

1688. On 10th September the Corporation made an order that the prices of hackney coachmen who drive from Cambridge to Sturbridge fair, or from that fair to Cambridge, from ſun riſing to ſunſet, ſhould be 12*d.* for one, two, three, or four perſons,

and after ſunſet 18*d.* for the like number of perſons.

1696. Mr. Morley in his "Memoir of Bartholomew Fair" (1859), writing of this period ſays, "The great fair near Cambridge—Stourbridge Fair—was in the days of which we are now ſpeaking, a place of large commerce" (p. 351).

# CHAPTER XII.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1700.

THERE was publiſhed "A Step to Stirbitch-fair, with remarks upon the Univerſity of Cambridge," by Edward Ward. Like all "Ned Ward's" books, it is written in a coarſe ſlangy ſtyle; and I do not find anything throwing much light upon the fair, except in the matter of book auctions, of which his account is very amuſing.

1701. The mayor and corporation having given a company of actors leave to perform at the fair without the ſanction of the Vice-chancellor, and in defiance of his authority, the ſenate, on the 4th Sept. paſſed a grace enacting that the privileges of the Univerſity ſhould be defended and vindicated at the public charge; and in the meantime, to prevent a breach of diſcipline the authority of proctors during the time of the fair was conferred on ſixty-two Maſters of Arts, and it was decreed that whoever diſobeyed them ſhould *ipſo facto* incur the penalty of expulſion.

It ſeems that the Vice-chancellor (Dr. Bentley) committed Dogget the actor to gaol, and ordered the booth built for the theatre to be demoliſhed.

1705. The London newſpapers of this year announced "That the fair would be proclaimed on the 7th Sept. with great ſolemnity by the Vice-chancellor of the Univerſity, the Mayor of the Town, accompanied by Lord Duplin and Mr. Cadogan, the repreſentatives in Parliament, the Recorder, Aldermen, &c., preceded by red-coats and other officers on horſeback, with muſic playing before them; that it was expected there would be greater concourſe of people and a more flouriſhing trade than had been known for ſeveral years paſt, owing to the conduct of a ſet of gentlemen who were endeavouring to revive the reputation of a fair not many years ago the moſt conſiderable in Europe." This announcement, which in great part contained nothing out of the common, it turned out was inſerted at the inſtance of a Londoner who was going to ſee the fair for the firſt time; and it had the effect of drawing together more people than had been ſeen there for ten years. The viſitor in queſtion records in the "Gentleman's Magazine" that he regularly took coach every afternoon at the Market-hill (Cambridge) with other gownſmen, drinking tea at the Coffee-booth, "where now and then we had the company of ſome very agreeable ladies of Cambridge town and education, and a fortnight was thus ſpent."

1709. There was publiſhed in London: "Nundinæ Sturbrigienſes," a poem in Latin hexameters,

of ſome five hundred lines, by Th. Hill, Coll. Trin. Cant. Soc. It is included in vol. ii. "Muſæ Anglicanæ," editio quinta. Londini, ex officina J. S. R. Tonſon and J. Watts, 1741. An * indicates that the poem in queſtion was added to this edition, and not found in former ones. The poem gives a deſcription of the fair as it exiſted in the reign of Queen Anne.

1710. The queſtion of the preacherſhip of the fair referred to under date 1650, came up this year in ſtrong force. The corporation had uſually appointed the miniſter of Barnwell, but this year they appointed another, a fellow of King's College. Their right to the nomination was now diſputed by the impropriator and miniſter of Barnwell. The corporation reſolved to maintain their nominee, and the oppoſing parties advertiſed their intention of ſtanding on what they regarded as their rights. Proceedings were accordingly commenced in the Biſhop of Ely's court. The following year (Sept. 1711) the Vicar of Barnwell publiſhed the following:—

Whereas 'tis the reſolution of the corporation of Cambridge, againſt the preſent incumbent of Barnwell, to ſet up a preacher in Sturbridge Fair; being led thereinto by artificially perſuading ſome of his predeceſſors into an illegal note, againſt the patron, his clerks and ſucceſſors in the ſaid living: and Sturbridge Fair being in the pariſh of Little St. Andrew's, Barnwell, and the miniſters thereof have (when right and law prevail) time out of mind, without any diſturbance (the ſaid corporation of

Cambridge finding alwaies a pulpit) performed the ſervice of the two Lord's-days during the ſaid fair, with their congregation, ſervice-books, veſtments, pulpit ornaments, and pariſh-clerk, in gratitude for the collection that hath been there alwaies made, for the better ſupport of themſelves under their ſmall parochial income, till the laſt year 1710; for which intruſion, then, the unwary uſurper was cenſured in the Biſhop's eccleſiaſtical court: Theſe do humbly give notice to the gentlemen of the fair, that the pulpit not being allowed this year as uſual, and it not being known ſoon enough to provide one, the ſervice of the Lord's day, during this preſent fair, will be performed in the pariſh-church, morning and evening, by the miniſter of Barnwell.

Will. Piers.

Mr. Piers appears to have carried his point, as no mention of a Sturbridge fair preacher ſubſequently to 1711 occurs in the Corporation books. Dr. Hurd, Biſhop of Worceſter, was, whilſt fellow of Emmanuel, preacher at Sturbridge fair.

*Preaching in the Fair.*—The ſervices were performed during the two Sundays occurring in the principal period of the fair, both morning and afternoon. The ſermon was preached from a pulpit placed in the open air, in the centre of the large ſquare, ſome 300 by 240 feet, called the *Duddery*, where the woollen-drapers, wholeſale tailors, and ſellers of ſecond-hand clothes took up their reſidence, in ſpacious booths. In the centre of this ſquare was formerly a tall maypole, with a vane

at the top. It was the moſt orderly part of the fair.

Ned Ward, in his book already referred to (1700), mentions this part of the fair, and ſays there ſtands "an old weather-beaten pulpit, where on Sunday a ſermon is delivered for the edification of the ſtrolling ſinners, who give open attention, as in a field-conventicle" (p. 242).

1718. On the 21ſt Sept. died, aged 89, Samuel Newton, one of the Aldermen of Cambridge. By his will he gave to the town four booths in the fair, and a ſermon in his commemoration was for many years preached at St. Edward's before the mayor and corporation on the Sunday next preceding the 22nd Sept.

1727. I do not know if there was any ſpeciality in the proceſſion to proclaim the fair this year. The following details are given in Cooper's "Annals of Cambridge," under this date. The order was thus: The Crier in ſcarlet on horſeback; twenty-eight petty Conſtables on foot; three drums; banners and ſtreamers; the Grand Marſhal; two trumpeters; the Town muſic (twelve in number), two French horns; the Bellman in ſtate with a ſtand, on horſeback; four Serjeants at Mace on horſeback; the Town Clerk on horſeback. The Mayor in his robes mounted on a horſe richly capriſoned, led by two footmen called red coats with white wands. The two repreſentatives in Parliament on horſeback. Twelve Aldermen according to ſeniority on horſeback (three and three) in their proper robes, the ſix ſeniors having their horſes at-

tended by as many henchmen or red coats with wands. The twenty-four Common Councilmen, three and three according to ſeniority. Eight Diſpenſers in their gowns, two and two; four Bailiffs in their habits (two and two). The Treaſurers in their gowns. The Gentlemen and Tradeſmen of the town.

The proceſſion was followed by a great number of the boys of the town on horſeback, who as ſoon as the ceremony of proclaiming was over, rode races about the place; and on returning to Cambridge each boy had a cake and ſome ale at the Town-hall.

This proceſſion was maintained until about 1758, when it began "to be abridged," owing as it is ſaid to the trouble and charge of keeping it in ſuitable condition.

*De Foe's Deſcription of the Fair.*—1723. This year the fair was viſited by Daniel De Foe, and he gives an account of it which I regard as of great value. He underſtood how to grapple with what he ſaw, and how to record the reſults of his inquiry. I give his deſcription with very ſmall curtailment. The account was not publiſhed until 1724:

I now draw near to Cambridge, to which I fanſy I look as if I was afraid to come, having made ſo many Circumlocutions beforehand; but I muſt yet make another Digreſſion before I enter the Town; (for in my way, and as I came in from Newmarket, about the beginning of September;) I cannot omit, that I came neceſſarily through Sturbridge Fair, which was then in its height.

If it is a Diverſion worthy of a Book to treat of Trifles, ſuch as the Gayety of Bury Fair, it cannot be very unpleaſant, eſpecially to the Trading part of the World, to ſay ſomething of this Fair, which is not only the greateſt in the whole Nation, but in the World; nor, if I may believe thoſe who have ſeen them all, is the Fair at Leipſick in Saxony, the Mart at Frankfort on the Main, or the Fairs at Nuremberg or Auſburg, any way to compare to this Fair at Sturbridge.

It is kept in a large Corn-field, near Caſterton, extending from the ſide of the River Cam, towards the Road, for about half a Mile Square.

If the Huſbandmen who rent the Land, do not get their Corn off before a certain Day in Auguſt, the Fair-Keepers may trample it under foot, and ſpoil it, to build their Booths: On the other Hand, to ballance that Severity, if the Fair-Keepers have not done their Buſineſs of the Fair, and remov'd and clear'd the field by another certain Day in September, the Plowmen may come in again, with Plow and Cart, and overthrow all and trample it into the Dirt; and as for the Filth, Dung, Straw, &c, neceſſarily left by the Fair-Keepers, the Quantity of which is very great, it is the Farmers Fees, and makes them full amends for the trampling, riding, and carting upon, and hardening the Ground.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe all the Parts and Circumſtances of this Fair exactly; the Shops are placed in Rows like Streets, whereof one is call'd Cheapſide; and here, as in ſeveral other Streets, are all ſorts of Trades, who ſell by Retale, and who,

come principally from London with their Goods; ſcarce any trades are omitted, Goldſmiths, Toy-ſhops, Braziers, Turners, Milleners, Haberdaſhers, Hatters, Mercers, Drapers, Pewterers, China-Ware-houſes, Taverns, Brandy-Shops, and Eating-Houſes, innumerable, and all in Tents, and Booths, as above.

This great Street reaches from the Road, which as I ſaid goes from Cambridge to Newmarket, turning ſhort out of it to the Right towards the River, and holds in a Line near half a Mile quite down to the River-ſide: In another Street parallel with the Road are like Rows of Booths, but larger, and more intermingled with Wholeſale Dealers, and on one ſide, paſſing out of this laſt Street to the Left Hand, is a formal great Square, form'd by the largeſt Booths, built in that Form, and which they called the Duddery; whence the name is deriv'd, and what its Signification is, I could never yet learn, tho' I made all poſſible ſearch into it. [Duddery is evidently derived from the old word Dudde, ſignifying cloth ("Promptorium Parvulorum," ed. Way, i. 134). Duds for clothes is ſtill uſed as a cant word, and by the Scotch (Bailey's "Dictionary;" Gloſſaries to Burns and Walter Scott).] The area of this Square is about 80 to 100 yards, where the Dealers have room before every Booth to take down, and open their Packs, and to bring in Waggons to load and unload.

This place is ſeparated, and Peculiar to the Wholeſale Dealers in the Woollen Manufacture. Here the Booths, or Tents are of a vaſt Extent, have diffe-

rent apartments, and the Quantities of Goods they bring are ſo Great, that the Inſides of them look like another Blackwell Hall, being as vaſt Ware-Houſes pil'd up with Goods to the Top. In this Duddery, as I have been inform'd, there have been ſold £100,000 worth of Woollen Manufactures in leſs than a Week's time, beſides the prodigious Trade carry'd on here, by Wholeſale Men, from London, and all Parts of England, who tranſact their Buſineſs wholly in their Pocket-Books, and meeting their Chapmen from all Parts, make up their Accounts, receive money chiefly in Bills, and take Orders: Theſe they ſay exceed by far the Sales of Goods actually brought to the Fair, and deliver'd in Kind; it being frequent for the London Wholeſale Men to carry back orders from their Dealers for £10,000 worth of Goods a Man, and ſome much more. This eſpecially reſpects thoſe People, who deal in heavy Goods, as Wholeſale Grocers, Salters, Braſiers, Iron-Merchants, Wine-Merchants, and the like; but does not exclude the Dealers in Woollen Manufactures, and eſpecially in Mercery Goods of all ſorts, the Dealers in which generally manage their Buſineſs in this manner.

Here are Clothiers from Hallifax, Leeds, Wakefield and Huthersfield in Yorkſhire, and from Rochdale, Bury, &c, in Lancaſhire, with vaſt Quantities of Yorkſhire Cloths, Kerſeyes, Penniſtons, Cottons, &c., with all ſorts of Mancheſter Ware, Fuſtians, and things made of Cotton Wool; of which the Quantity is ſo great, that they told me there were near a thouſand Horſe-Packs of ſuch Goods from that

ſide of the Country, and theſe took up a ſide and a half of the Duddery at leaſt; alſo a part of a ſtreet of Booths were taken up with Upholſterer's Ware, ſuch as Tickings, Sackings, Kidderminſter Stuffs, Blankets, Rugs, Quilts, &c.

In the Duddery I ſaw one Ware-houſe or Booth with ſix Apartments in it, all belonging to a Dealer in Norwich Stuffs only, and who they ſaid had there above £20,000 value in thoſe Goods, and no other.

Weſtern Goods had their Share here alſo, and ſeveral Booths were fill'd as full with Serges, Du-Roys, Druggets, Shalloons, Cantaloons, Devonſhire Kerſies, &c, from Exeter, Taunton, Briſtol, and other Parts Weſt, and ſome from London alſo.

But all this is ſtill out done, at leaſt in ſhow, by two Articles, which are the peculiars of this Fair, and do not begin till the other part of the Fair, that is to ſay for the Woolen Manufacture begins to draw to a Cloſe; theſe are Wooll, and the Hops, as for the Hops there is ſcarce any Price fix'd for Hops in England, till they know how they ſell at Sturbridge Fair; the Quantity that appears in the Fair is indeed prodigious, and they, as it were, poſſeſs a large Part of the Field on which the Fair is kept, to themſelves; they are brought directly from Chelmsford in Eſſex, from Canterbury and Maidſtone in Kent, and from Farnham in Surrey, beſides what are brought from London, the growth of thoſe, and other places.

Enquiring why this Fair ſhould be thus, of all other Places in England, the Center of that Trade;

and ſo great a Quantity of ſo Bulky a Commodity be carry'd thither ſo far: I was anſwer'd by one thoroughly acquainted with that matter, thus: The Hops, ſaid he, for this part of England, grow principally in the two counties of Surrey and Kent, with an exception only of the town of Chelmsford in Eſſex, and there are very few planted anywhere elſe.

. . . . . I muſt not omit here alſo to mention, that the River Grant, or Cam, which runs cloſe by the N.W. ſide of the Fair in its way from Cambridge to Ely, is Navigable, and that by this means, all heavy Goods are brought even to the Fair-Field, by Water Carriage from London, and other Parts, firſt to the Port of Lynn, and then in Barges up the Ouſe, from the Ouſe into the Cam, and ſo, as I ſay to the very Edge of the Fair.

In like manner great Quantities of heavy Goods, and the Hops among the reſt, are ſent from the Fair to Lynn by Water, and ſhipped there for the Humber, to Hull, York, &c, and for New Caſtle upon Tyne, and by New Caſtle, even to Scotland itſelf. Now as there is ſtill no planting of Hops in the North, tho' a great Conſumption, and the Conſumption increaſing Daily, this, ſays my Friend, is one reaſon why at Sturbridge Fair there is ſo great a Demand for the Hops: He added, that beſides this, there were very few Hops, if any worth naming, growing in all the Counties even on this ſide Trent, which were above forty miles from London; theſe Counties depending on Sturbridge Fair for their ſupply, ſo the Counties of Suffolk,

Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, Leiceſter, Rutland, and even to Stafford, Warwick, and Worceſterſhire, bought moſt if not all their Hops at Sturbridge Fair.

Theſe are the Reaſons why ſo great a Quantity of Hops are ſeen at this Fair, as that it is incredible, conſidering too, how remote from this Fair the Growth of them is, as above.

This is likewiſe a teſtimony of the prodigious Reſort of the Trading people of all Parts of England to this Fair; the Quantity of Hops that have been ſold at one of theſe Fairs is diverſley reported, and ſome affirm it to be ſo great, that I dare not copy after them; but without doubt it is a ſurpriſing Account, eſpecially in a cheap Year.

The next Article brought hither, is Wool, and this of ſeveral ſorts, but principally Fleece Wool, out of Lincolnſhire, where the longeſt Staple is found; the ſheep of thoſe Countries being of the largeſt Breed.

The Buyers of this Wool, are chiefly indeed the Manufacturers of Norfolk and Suffolk and Eſſex, and it is a prodigious Quantity they buy.

Here I ſaw what I have not obſerv'd in any other county of England, namely, a Pocket of Wool.

This ſeems to be firſt call'd ſo in Mockery, this Pocket being ſo big, that it loads a whole Waggon, and reaches beyond the moſt extream Parts of it, hanging over both before and behind, and theſe ordinarily weigh a Ton or 25 Hundred weight of Wool, all in one Bag.

The Quantity of Wool only, which has been ſold at this Place at one Fair, has been ſaid to amount to £50,000 or £60,000 in value, ſome ſay a great deal more.

By theſe Articles a Stranger may make ſome gueſs at the immenſe Trade carry'd on at this Place; what prodigious Quantities of Goods are bought and ſold here, and what a confluence of People are ſeen here from all Parts of England.

I might go on here to ſpeak of ſeveral other ſorts of Engliſh Manufactures, which are brought hither to be ſold; as all ſorts of wrought Iron, and Braſs-Ware from Birmingham; Edg'd Tools, Knives, &c, from Sheffield; Glaſs-Wares and Stockings from Nottingham, and Leiceſter; and an infinite Throng of other things of ſmaller value, every Morning.

To attend this Fair, and the prodigious conflux of People which come to it, there are ſometimes not leſs than fifty Hackney Coaches, which come from London, and ply Night and Morning to carry the People to and from Cambridge; for there the groſs of the People lodge; nay, which is ſtill more ſtrange, there are Wherries brought from London on Waggons to plye upon the little River Cam, and to row People up and down from the Town, and from the Fair as Occaſion preſents.

It is not to be wondered at, if the Town of Cambridge cannot Receive or Entertain the Numbers of People that come to this Fair; not Cambridge only, but all the Towns round are full; nay, the very Barns, and Stables are turn'd into Inns, and

made as fit as they can to Lodge the meaner Sort of People.

As for the People in the Fair, they all univerſally Eat Drink and Sleep in their Booths and Tents; and the ſaid Booths are ſo intermingled with Taverns, Coffee-Houſes, Drinking-Houſes, Eating-Houſes, Cook-Shops, &c, and all in Tents too; and ſo many Butchers, and Hagglers from all the Neighboring Counties come into the Fair every Morning with Beef, Mutton, Fowls, Butter, Bread, Cheeſe, Eggs, and ſuch things; and go with them from Tent to Tent, from Door to Door, that there's no want of any Proviſions of any kind, either dreſ'd or undreſ'd.

In a Word, the Fair is like a well Fortify'd City, and there is the leaſt Diſorder and Confuſion (I believe) that can be ſeen anywhere, with ſo great a Concourſe of People.

Towards the latter End of the Fair, and when the great Hurry of Wholeſale Buſineſs begins to be over, the Gentry come in, from all parts of the County round; and tho' they come for their diverſion; yet 'tis not a little Money, they lay out; which generally falls to the ſhare of the Retailers, ſuch as Toy-ſhops, Goldſmiths, Braſiers, Iron-mongers, Turners, Milleners, Mercers, &c, and ſome looſe Coins, they reſerve for the Puppet Shows, Drolls, Rope-Dancers, and ſuch-like, of which there is no want, though not conſiderable like the reſt: The laſt Day of the Fair is the Horſe-Fair, where the whole is cloſed with both Horſe and Foot-Races, to divert the meaner Sort of

People only, for nothing conſiderable is offered of that Kind: Thus Ends the whole Fair, and in leſs than a week more, there is ſcarce any ſign left that there has been ſuch a thing there. . . . . .

I ſhould have mention'd, that here is a Court of Juſtice always open, and held every Day in a Shed built on purpoſe in the Fair; this is for keeping the Peace, and deciding Controverſies in matters Deriving from the Buſineſs of the Fair: The Magiſtrates of the Town of Cambridge are Judges in this Court, as being in their Juriſdiction, or they are holding it by Special Priviledge: Here they determine Matters in a Summary way, as is practiſ'd in thoſe we call Pye-Powder Courts in other Places, or as a Court of Conſcience; and they have a final Authority without Appeal.

1729. This year was paſſed "An Order for the Regiſtering and Regulating the Prices of Hackney Coaches at Sturbridge Fair," which was quite a formidable document. I give one paragraph only: . . . And whereas in purſuance and by virtue of ſuch immemorial preſcription uſage and Charters the ſaid mayor bailiffs and burgeſſes have from time to time taken on themſelves the regulation of Hackney Coaches coming to the ſaid fair; and did heretofore take a toll of 5*s.* from each coach coming to the ſaid fair, which of late years they have omitted to receive in conſideration of the great expenſes of ſuch hackney coachmen coming to the ſaid fair; and did order appoint and eſtabliſh the prices to be taken by all coachmen coming to the ſaid fair and there tendering themſelves to

carry paſſengers and perſons from the town of Cambridge to the ſaid fair, and from the ſaid fair to the town of Cambridge, at the price or ſum of 3*d*. . .

The price (after many more recitals) was fixed at 6*d*.

1733. There was a diſpute between the Univerſity and the Corporation as to the right to weigh hops in the fair, as indeed there had been for ſeveral previous years. The matter was referred to the Commiſſary of the Univerſity and the Recorder of the Town, who decided in favour of the Univerſity. A paper on the ſubject was drawn up and publiſhed by Thomas Johnſon of Magdalen College, one of the taxors.

1738. The Univerſity publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt ſchiſmatical congregations at Stourbridge fair, and appointed Pro-proctors to ſee it executed. Theſe meaſures were occaſioned by the fear that the famous John Henley would erect an oratory in the fair. He had applied to the Vice-chancellor for leave to hold an oratory there and had been refuſed.

1741. A great gale this year blew down many of the booths at the fair, and cauſed great inconvenience and ſome damage.

1747. On 29th June the Court of Common Pleas gave judgment in an action of treſpaſs brought by James Auſtin againſt King Whittred for ſeizing his cheeſe, &c., at this fair in 1745; which treſpaſs the defendant juſtified by way of diſtreſs damage feaſant made by him as ſervant to the Cor-

poration, the owners of the fair. The court held the plea bad in ſubſtance, as *every perſon had of common right a liberty of carrying his goods to a public fair for ſale.*—"Willes Reports," 623.

1748. A company of players from the theatres in London performed a pantomime called "Harlequin's Frolics or Jack Spaniard caught in a Trap," in Huſſey's Great Theatrical Booth. There were alſo ſome entertainments of ſinging and dancing. It was believed theſe were permitted in honour of the approaching peace. But in the following year there were alſo companies of players preſent.—"Annals," iv. p. 262, note.

1749. The Land Tax aſſeſſed on the fair this year amounted to £112 7*s.* 10*d.*

Carter the Hiſtorian of Cambridge publiſhed an account of the fair this year. I ſhall only quote from it ſuch points as have not been mentioned by De Foe and others. He refers to the name of the fair being obviouſly derived from the rivulet called the Stour, which has a bridge over it near the ſite of the fair.

"During the fair Colcheſter oyſters (natives) and white herrings, juſt coming into ſeaſon are in great requeſt, at leaſt by ſuch as live in the inland part of the kingdom." . . . "The fair is like a well governed city. . . . If any diſpute ariſe between buyer and ſeller &c, on calling out 'Red-coat' you have inſtantly one or more come running to you; and if the diſpute is not quickly decided, the offender is carried to the ſaid Court [of the fair] where the caſe is determined in a ſummary way. . . ."

1757. Poſtlethwayt in his "Dictionary of Trade and Commerce," 2nd edition, ſpeaks of the fair as "beyond all compariſon the greateſt in Britain, and perhaps in the world"—as it certainly was at this time.

1759. The Corporation ordered the collector of the tolls to provide weights and ſcales for weighing hops and other goods at the fair, and agreed to indemnify him againſt any ſuit in relation to the weighing of ſuch goods.

*Peculiar cuſtom of the Fair.*—1762. At this fair about this date, there was in practice the cuſtom of "Initiation" or "Chriſtening." It took place uſually on the evening of the horſe-fair day—perhaps becauſe there was a ſpecies of horſe-play about the performance, at the "Robin Hood" inn, famous in the annals of the fair. The formula was as follows:—The freſhman was introduced to the elder members in the parlour of the inn, and two ſponſors being previouſly choſen for him, he was placed in an armchair, his head uncovered, and his ſhoes off. Two vergers, holding ſtaves and lighted candles, aſſiſted the officiator, who was robed in a Cantab's gown and cap, with a bell in one hand and a book in the other. He commenced the ceremony by aſking "Is this an Infidel?" Anſwer, "Yes." "What does he require?" Anſwer, "Inſtruction (or to be inſtructed)." "Where are the ſponſors? let them ſtand forward!" A bowl of punch or a bottle of wine was placed on the table handy for the officiator, who then chaunted the following doggrel:—

Over thy head I ring this bell,
Becauſe thou art an infidel,
And I know thee by thy ſmell— [1]
*Chorus.* With a hoccius proxius mandamus,
Let no vengeance light on him,
And ſo call upon him.

With ſeveral verſes more of the ſame ſort.

Then the officiator turned round and inquired "Who names this child?" The ſponſors replied "We do," and then they called the novitiate by ſome ſlang name, as "Nimble-heels," "Stupid Stephen," "Tommy Simper," or other ludicrous deſignation. The officiator then drank and gave the novice a full bumper, continuing the chaunt:—

"Nimble-heels" henceforward ſhall be his name,
Which to confeſs let him not feel ſhame
Whether 'fore maſter, miſs, or dame—

And then the chorus as before. Then,—

This child firſt having paid his dues,
Is welcome then to put on his ſhoes,
And ſing a ſong, or tell a merry tale—
As he may chooſe.

Chorus and conviviality ending up by a formal ſupper. If ſeveral novices were offered together, one ceremony ſufficed, with a few neceſſary verbal alterations.

1771. In a letter of the Rev. Michael Tyſon,

[1] In the days of ſlavery in the United States of America, there was in frequent uſe the following couplet:

"The Lord him knows the nigger well,
He knows the nigger by *the ſmell*," &c.

dated *Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge*, Sept. 12th, this year, occurs the following paſſage:—"There is an old and curious plan of Sturbridge Fair in the mayor's booth, taken when it was in its ſplendour, when its ſtreet and ſquare extended all over thoſe fields by Barmwell. I mean to make a copy of this, and to draw up an *Hiſtoriola* of the Fair; but this is too local to be of any entertainment but to thoſe connected with Cambridge. Thank Heaven my Deanſhip ends on Michaelmas day. . ." —Nichols' "Literary Anecdotes," viii. 569.

1778. Violent ſtorm during the fair; Bailey's large muſic booth blown down and many others injured.

1783. At the Quarter Seſſions of Cambridge held July this year the following order was made:

"Whereas ſome diſputes have ariſen, touching the Intercommon of Stirbridge Fair Green, between the Commoners of Cambridge, and thoſe of Barnwell within the ſaid Town, and a ſuit hath been inſtituted in order to try the right of the ſaid Common: It is this day agreed and ordered, that the Coſts of ſuch ſuit on the part of the ſaid town of Cambridge, touching the ſaid intercommon, be paid and borne by the ſaid town; and that the Town Clerk be deſired to proſecute the ſaid ſuit, to aſſert the right of the inhabitants of the ſaid town to the ſaid Common.

It is recorded that ſome of the ſcenes at the fair about this date were of a reprehenſible character, and tradition eſpecially points to a booth raiſed by Charles Day, the character of one of whoſe patrons

is ſketched with a free hand in "Nichols' Literary Anecdotes," viii. p. 540.

1786. There was publiſhed "The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey, and of Sturbridge Fair" (being a reprint of "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica," No. xxxviii.), from which I have drawn ſome of the preceding details.

1789. An intereſting and amuſing account of the fair as it appeared in 1789—reign of George III.—is given in "Reminiſcences of Cambridge," by Henry Gunning, formerly an Eſquire Bedell, vol. i., pp. 149-158, ſecond edition, London, 1855.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

### 1802.

DURING the performance at the theatre in the fair, 27th Sept., a cry of "fire" aroſe in different parts of the houſe, which was greatly crowded. Although the manager and performers aſſured the audience that the alarm was without foundation, and tried every perſuaſion to obtain order, a general ruſh took place. Some threw themſelves over from the upper boxes into the pit; others were trampled upon and bruiſed on the ſtairs. In the end three girls and a boy were taken up dead, and many others were more or leſs ſeriouſly injured. It was ſuppoſed the cry was got up for the purpoſes of robbery; one hundred guineas reward was offered for the offenders, but they eſcaped detection.

1827. In Hone's "Year Book" is given a graphic account of this fair as it had exiſted within the memory of the writer, whoſe "perſonal recollections of more than ſixty years ago," are embodied

therein; from which I condenſe the following, as giving a view of its later, but not laſt ſtage:

The firſt booths, on the north ſide of the road were occupied by the cuſtomary ſhows of wild beaſts and wild men, conjurors, tumblers and rope-dancers. Mr. Baker's company of "comedians" was reſpectable; and Lewy Owen the clown, a young man of good family, who had abandoned himſelf to this way of life, full of eccentric wit and grimace, continually excited broad grins. The late Mrs. Inchbald was a performer at this fair. There was a large theatrical booth, occupied by a reſpectable company of comedians from Norwich, under the management of Mr. Bailey, formerly a merchant of London. He was a portly good-looking man, of gentlemanly manners and addreſs, the compiler of the Directory bearing his name—a work of much merit, containing beſides the names of reſidents in the ſeveral towns, conciſe yet correct topographical deſcription of the places: the book has now become very ſcarce. Other ſhow booths, occupied by giants and dwarfs, ſavage beaſts and other ſavages, extended with ſtunning din along this noiſy line. In front of theſe were the fruit and gingerbread ſtalls. . . . On the ſouth ſide of the road oppoſite to theſe booths was the cheeſe fair. Dealers from various parts took their ſtands there, and many tons weight were diſpoſed of. Such as were fit for the London market were bought by the cheeſe factors from thence; and cheeſe from Cheſhire, Wilts, and Gloſter by the gentry and farmers and dealers from Suffolk, Norfolk, and ad-

joining counties; large quantities of Cottenham and cream cheeſes being brought by farmers from thoſe counties for ſale. Oppoſite to the eaſt end of the cheeſe fair, on the north ſide of the road ſtands an ancient chapel or oratory, no doubt erected for the devout dealers and others reſorting to this fair, and for ſuch pious travellers as paſſed or repaſſed the ferry to Cheſterton [various references have been made to it; ſtill ſtanding, 1882]. At and nigh to this ſpot were the wool-fair and the hop-fair. Large ſtores of ſack-cloths, waggon-tilts, and ſuch like were near the ſkin, leather ſellers' and glovers' row, where the finer articles of leather and leather gloves were ſold. Little edifices of general convenience were numerous.

At the end of the ſhow-booths and facing the row began the principal range of booths, called Garlick-row. This range of ſhops was well conſtructed. Each booth conſiſted of two rooms; the back room ſeparated from the ſhop by a boarded partition served for a bed chamber and other domeſtic purpoſes, from which a door opened into a field. A range of booths was generally appropriated to furniture ſellers, ironmongers, ſilverſmiths, jewellers, japanners and fine cutlery dealers. Another range to ſilk-mercers, dealers in muſlin, toys and millinery. Yet another to dealers in Norwich and Yorkſhire manufactures, mercery, lace, hoſe, fine made ſhoes, boots, clogs and patterns (*ſic*). While dealers in faſhionable wares from London, as furs, fans, toys, &c. occupied a diſtinct group. A further group was devoted to oilmen, dealers in pickles, and preſerves,

one of whom—Mr. Green from Limehouſe—kept a moſt important ſtore here. His returns were from £1,500 to £2,000 during the fair. The father of the writer from whom I am quoting "kept the fair" for forty years and upwards, "and uſually brought home £1,000 or more for goods ſold and paid for, beſides ſelling to half that amount on credit to reputable dealers and farmers. At the end of this row ſtood the dealers in glaſs-ware, looking-glaſſes and ſmall articles of mahogany furniture. The Inn—the King's Arms, I believe—was the common reſort of the horſe-dealers. Here ſat the *Pied-poudre* court, having a pair of ſtocks and a whipping-poſt in front, and a ſtrong room underneath. Cloſe adjoining northward was the oyſter fair. The oyſters brought from Lynn were very large, about the ſize of a horſe's hoof, and were opened with pincers; the more delicate from Colcheſter and Whitſtable were very ſmall. In the meadow adjoining were the coal fair, pottery fair and Staffordſhire dealers. The greater part of theſe articles were delivered from on board veſſels which drew up cloſe to the bank of the river.

Oppoſite to the oyſter fair was a cloſe wherein the horſe fair was kept. The ſhow of beautiful animals in that place was perhaps unrivalled, unleſs in Yorkſhire. The fineſt racers and hunters from Yorkſhire, the moſt brawny and muſcular draught horſes from Suffolk, and from every other country famous for breeding horſes animated the ſcene. This horſe fair drew together a great concourſe of gentry, farmers and dealers from all parts

of the neighbouring counties, and ſcores of valuable animals changed maſters in the ſpace of a few hours. The horſe fair was held on the firſt Friday after the fair was proclaimed.

Higher up, and about fifty yards from the road was Ironmongers' row, with booths occupied by manufactures from Sheffield, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and other parts; and dealers in agricultural tools, nails, hatchets, ſaws, and ſuch like implements. About twenty yards nearer the road were woollen drapers; and further on, and oppoſite toGarlick-row weſtward, were booths for ſlop ſellers, and dealers in haubergs, or waggoners' frocks, jackets, half-boots, and ſuch like habiliments for robuſt ploughmen and farm labourers. Then followed the hatters' row, cloſe to which was a very reſpectable coffee-houſe and tavern, fitted up with neat tables covered with green baize, having glazed ſaſh-windows and a boarded floor, kept by the proprietor of Dochrell's coffee-houſe in Cambridge, famed for excellent milk punch. There were alſo a number of ſuttling booths where plain and ſubſtantial dinners were ſerved up in a neat comfortable ſtyle, well cooked and moderately charged, "except on the horſe fair and Michaelmas days, when an extra ſixpence was generally tackt to the tail of the gooſe."

Shoemaker row was at the end of Garlick-row and conſiſted of ten or twelve booths. The baſket fair, Tunbridge ware fair, and broom fair, were behind nearly at the top. In the baſket fair were to be had all kinds of hampers, baſkets and baſket

work; hay rakes, ſcythe-hafts, pitchfork and ſpade-handles, and other implements of huſbandry, waggon loads of which were piled up there. In the Tunbridge ware ſection were malt, ſhovels, churns, cheeſe-preſſes and other wooden ware.

The circuit of the fair at the period to which this account relates was eſtimated at three miles. A liſt of many of the principal London dealers who attended this fair is appended to this account. Vide Hone's "Year Book," 1841 ed. col. 1539-48. A rough plan or chart of the fair is there given.

1828. The formal opening of the fair is deſcribed in Wall-Gunning, "The ceremonies obſerved in the ſenate-houſe of the Univerſity of Cambridge." Camb. pp. 129-31.

1842. The practice—the origin of which I have not been able to trace—of the Proctors of the Univerſity giving entertainments at the Midſummer and Sturbridge fairs was this year diſcontinued by a Grace paſſed 2nd July.

1855. The Univerſity, for the laſt time, "called the fair" on 18th Sept. this year. The following form was uſed on the occaſion—very much modified from that of 1548.

*Proclamation of the Fair, by the Univerſity.*—Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! All perſons are deſired to keep ſilence while Proclamation of this Fair is being made.

His Royal Highneſs Prince Albert, Chancellor of this Univerſity Doth in the name of our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria ſtrictly charge and command:

That all perſons who ſhall repair to this Fair or the precincts thereof Do keep Her Majeſty's peace, and make no affrays or outcries whereby any gathering together of people be made, nor that they wear any weapons upon pain of impriſonment and loſs of their weapons and further correction as ſhall be thought fit by the Officers of the ſaid Univerſity.

That all unhoneſt women, all vagrant and unruly perſons avoid and withdraw themſelves from this Fair and the precincts thereof immediately after this proclamation, that Her Majeſty's Subjects may be quieter, aad good rule the better maintained upon pain of impriſonment and further correction at the diſcretion of the Officers of this Univerſity.

That all Bakers baking bread to ſell at this Fair or the precincts of the ſame Do bake and ſell good and wholeſome bread, and of ſuch goodneſs as the law doth require, upon pain of the Statute in that behalf provided. [Bale ("Declaration of Bonner's Articles," fo. 21 b, about 1550), mentions the Baker-Boyes crye, as he ſat between his Bread-Panners at the fair, "Buy and beare away; ſteal and runne awaye," &c.]

That all perſons who ſell Ale or Beer within this Fair or the precincts of the ſame Do ſell by no other meaſures than by Gallon, Pottle, Quart, Pint, and half-pint, ſized and ſealed according to the Standard of this Univerſity upon pain and penalty of the Statute in that behalf provided, and that every ſuch Victualler and ſeller of Ale and Beer have a ſign at his door upon pain of Three Shillings and four pence.

That all perſons who ſell by weights and meaſures any kinds of Victuals, Wares, or Merchandize, that their weights and their meaſures be ſized and ſealed, and be in all reſpects according to the Standard of this Univerſity upon pain of the Statute in that behalf provided.

That all Vintners do ſell good and wholeſome wines without mixing or impoſition, and that their wine Pots be ſized and ſealed according to the Standard of this Univerſity upon pain of three ſhillings and four pence for every offence.

That no perſons in this Fair Do ſuffer, keep or maintain any unlawful gaming in their houſes or grounds, upon pain of the Statute in that behalf provided.

That no perſon receive into his houſe or booth any perſon of ill life and converſation or ſuſpected of the ſame, upon pain of impriſonment and further correction as ſhall be thought fit by the Officers of this Univerſity.

That no perſon whatſoever ſell or offer to put to ſale any kind of wares upon the Sunday upon pain of impriſonment and further puniſhment by law provided: And that no perſon upon the ſaid day, eſpecially in the time of ſervice or ſermon, receive any perſons into their houſes or booths, and there ſuffer them to remain idle or drinking upon ſuch pain and penalty as ſhall be inflicted upon them by the officers of this Univerſity.

If there be any that will ſue for any wares, Debts, Injuries or Treſpaſſes, or think themſelves wronged in any of the premiſes, let them make

complaint to the Chancellor's Commiſſary of this Univerſity who will hold and keep Court at the Great Tiled Booth on next, the inſtant at o'clock to the intent that Juſtice may be adminſtered according to the Charters and and Privileges of this Univerſity.

God ſave the Queen.

[Copied from the book of Formulæ in the Univerſity Regiſtry.

ALFRED ROGERS,
April 28, 1882.]

1882. The fair ſtill lingers on. Its commercial greatneſs has long ſince paſſed away—ebbed out of exiſtence by ſlow degrees, reſulting from many ſocial and other changes, rather than from any one marked cauſe. But, as may be expected after ſix and a half centuries (at leaſt) of notable exiſtence, it dies hard. Three of its features ſtill remain. The horſe fair, always famous, was this year greater than for ſome time paſt. The onion fair is ſtill aſſociated with Garlick row, while hurdles, gates, and implements of wood are ſtill prominent. Thus traditions cling. In "Æſop Dreſſ'd"—a rare collection of fables by J. Mandeville (4to. 1704, p. 9; ſhould be 33), there appeared the following:

"An aſs of ſtupid memory
Confeſ'd, that going to *Stourbridge Fair*,
His back moſt brok with wooden ware."

The old aſſociations are, however, rapidly crumbling away.

The fair is ſtill proclaimed by the mayor at the old time of commencing; but the fair is not now held until a fortnight later and only laſts three days. There are points in the Proclamation worthy of note.

*Proclamation of Sturbridge Fair by the Mayor of Cambridge.*—Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! Mr. Mayor doth ſtrictly charge and command all manner of perſons to keep ſilence whilſt the Fair of Sturbridge is publicly proclaimed. God ſave the Queen.

Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! Our moſt Gracious Sovereign Lady Victoria by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen Defender of the faith by Mr. Mayor of the Borough of Cambridge Her Majeſty's Lieutenant of the ſaid Borough one of Her Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the Borough and County of Cambridge and chief Governor of this Fair Doth ſtrictly charge and command that all Merchants and other perſons that be repaired or ſhall or will repair to this Fair of Sturbridge beginning on the feaſt of St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle (old ſtyle) and continuing until the fourteenth day next after the feaſt of the exaltation of the Holy Croſs (old ſtyle) do keep Her Majeſty's Peace.

That all idle and evil diſpoſed perſons within this Fair depart the ſame forthwith.

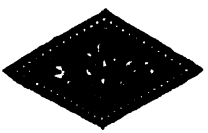
That no Merchant put to ſale or offer to ſell any wares or merchandize but in the uſual and accuſtomed places for their ſeveral wares and merchandizes appointed.

That Victuallers Tiplers and other perſons buy

no goods or merchandize of any wayfaring man or other perſon who ſhall bring the ſame to their booths or houſes to ſell but only of ſuch as ſhall be known unto them to be of honeſt converſation whom they ſhall be always able to have forthcoming upon demand.

That all Merchants and other perſons within this fair ceaſe from ſhewing or ſelling any wares or merchandizes and from all labour and travel on the Lord's day.

And laſtly Mr. Mayor giveth to underſtand that if any Merchant or other perſon will ſue or complain touching any cauſe or matter done and committed within this Fair or the liberties thereof and here determinable let him repair to the place accuſtomed and there according to the law of the land the ſame cauſe or matter ſhall be heard and determined. God ſave the Queen.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### CONCLUSION.

WHILE the preſentation of the preceding details has been eſſential to the plan of this work, I deſire, by way of appropriate concluſion, to eſtimate the influence of the fair upon the development of commerce in England, and, in ſome degree, alſo in Europe. I find a moſt comprehenſive review of this character from the maſterly pen of Prof. James E. Thorold Rogers, M.A., in his great work, the "Hiſtory of Agriculture and Prices in England" (1866, vol. i. pp. 142-4).

After pointing out that the port of Lynn, with the rivers Ouſe, and Cam, were the means by which water-carriage was made available for goods—an important point; indeed it may be regarded as certain that in the middle ages and later, no great fair could be held far removed from water communication—he proceeds:

The concourſe muſt have been a ſingular medley. Beſides the people who poured forth from the great towns—from London, Norwich, Colcheſter, Oxford,

places in the beginning of the fourteenth century of great comparative importance, and who gave their names, or, in caſe certain branches of commerce had been planted in particular London ſtreets, the names of ſuch ſtreets, to the rows of booths in the three-weeks' fair of Stourbridge—there were, beyond doubt, the repreſentatives of many nations collected together to this great mart of medieval commerce. The Jew, expelled from England, had given place to the Lombard exchanger. The Venetian and Genoeſe merchant came with his precious ſtock of Eaſtern produce, his Italian ſilks and velvets, his ſtore of delicate glaſs. The Flemiſh weaver was preſent with his linens of Liege and Ghent. The Spaniard came with his ſtock of iron, the Norwegian with his tar and pitch. The Gaſcon vine-grower was ready to trade in the produce of his vineyard; and, more rarely, the richer growths of Spain, and, ſtill more rarely, the vintages of Greece were alſo ſupplied. The Hanſe towns ſent furs and amber, and probably were the channel by which the precious ſtones of the Eaſt were ſupplied through the markets of Moſcow and Novgorod. And perhaps by ſome of thoſe unknown courſes, the hiſtory of which is loſt, ſave by the relics which have occaſionally been diſcovered, the porcelain of the fartheſt Eaſt might have been ſeen in ſome of the booths.

Blakeney, and Colcheſter, and Lynn, and perhaps Norwich, were filled with foreign veſſels, and buſy with the tranſit of various produce; and Eaſtern England grew rich under this confluence of

trade. How keen muſt have been the intereſt with which the franklin and bailiff, the one trading on his own account, the other entruſted with his maſter's produce, witneſſed the ſcene, talked of the wonderful world about them, and diſcuſſed the politics of Europe!

To this great fair came, on the other hand, the woolpacks, which then formed the riches of England and were the envy of outer nations. The Corniſh tin-mine ſent its produce, ſtamped with the ſign of the rich earl who bought the throne of the German Empire, or of the warlike prince who had won his ſpurs at Crecy, and captured the French king at Poitiers. Thither came alſo ſalt from the ſprings of Worceſterſhire, as well as that which had been gathered under the ſummer ſun from the ſalterns of the eaſtern coaſt. Here, too, might be found lead from the mines in Derbyſhire, and iron, either raw or manufactured, from the Suſſex forges. And beſides theſe, there were great ſtores of thoſe kinds of agricultural produce which, even under the imperfect cultivation of the time, were gathered in greater ſecurity, and therefore in greater plenty, than in any other part of the world, except Flanders.

To regulate the currency, to ſecure the country againſt the loſs of ſpecie, and more harmleſſly to prevent the importation of ſpurious or debaſed coin, the officers of the king's exchange examined into the mercantile tranſactions of the foreign traders. To form a ready remedy againſt fraud, the mayor ſat at his court "of the duſty feet;" a mixed multi-

tude were engaged in ſale or purchaſe; the nobles ſecuring ſuch articles of luxury as were offered them, or which law and cuſtom aſſigned to their rank—their rich robes of peace, their armour from Milan, their war horſes from Spain. The franklin came for materials for his farm, and furniture for his houſe; ſometimes even to buy rams in order to improve the breed of his flock. The bailiffs of college and monaſtery were buſy in the purchaſe of clothing. And on holidays and Sundays, ſome canon, deputed from the neighbouring priory, ſaid maſs and preached in the booth aſſigned for religious worſhip.

This is certainly a not over-coloured picture of the paſt of this once mighty fair. Mr. Cunningham, in his moſt excellent work, "The Growth of Engliſh Induſtry and Commerce" (1882, Cambridge Univerſity Preſs, p. 164), ſays:—"By far the greater part of the commerce of this country was carried on at ſuch fairs; and *Sturbridge* Fair was one of the moſt important in the whole kingdom, rivalling it was ſaid the great fair of Nijni Novgorod, as a gathering of world-wide fame." And he adds by way of note:—"In the eighteenth century it continued to be a moſt important mart for all ſorts of manufactured goods, as well as for horſes, wool, and hops."

# BARTHOLOMEW FAIR.

## CHAPTER XV.

### ORIGIN.

THIS is I believe the only fair, or certainly the only one of any note, ever held within the walls of the City of London. Southwark Fair became veſted in the Corporation in the fifteenth century. I do not propoſe to write anything more than an outline hiſtory of Bartholomew Fair. Mr. Morley's moſt intereſting "Memoir of Bartholomew Fair" (1859) is available to thoſe who deſire more minute details. But as an inſtitution which exiſted for ſeven hundred years, and more or leſs illuſtrates the ſocial hiſtory of the metropolis, and in ſome ſort its trading cuſtoms, during a conſiderable portion of that period, it cannot be paſſed over lightly. I ſhall adopt a chronological mode of illuſtration as, on the whole, beſt ſuited to the end in view.

*Founding the Priory of Bartholomew*, A.D. 1102. —In the reign of Henry I., the Priory, Hoſpital and

Church of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, were founded by one Rahere, a minſtrel of the king, and "a pleaſant witted gentleman." It ſeems that Rahere was determined to this pious work in a fit of ſickneſs, during a pilgrimage he made to Rome agreeably to the faſhion of the times, when St. Bartholomew appeared to him, and required him to undertake the work and perform it in Smithfield. Before that time Smithfield, or the greater part of it, was called "the Elms," becauſe it was covered with elm trees. FitzStephen ſays the name of Smithfield is merely a corruption of "Smooth field," or plain, which harmonizes with the fact that the ground was uſed at an early period for tilting matches or tournaments, which were provided for the amuſement of the citizens, who then conſiſted of moſt of the noble families of the land, and who daily took their active exerciſe here. Theſe "jouſts" or entertainments were carried out with great ſplendour.

This monk Rahere, the founder of the Priory, &c., has been termed the king's jeſter, or court fool. The Cotton MS. records in its quaint language and ſpelling that Rahere "ofte hawnted the Kyng's palice, and amo'ge the noyſefull preſſe of that tumultuous courte, enforſed himſelf with jolite and carnal ſuavite: ther yn ſpectaclis, yn metys, yn playes, and other courtely mokkys, and trifyllis intrudying, he lede forth the beſyneſſe of alle the day." There always exiſted at the court in theſe early times ſome one employed as ſtory-teller and companion in the king's amuſements; and it ſeems not to be doubted that Rahere occupied this poſition

—turning his opportunities of patronage to good account (as others occupying a like office have done) for the benefit of his fellow citizens. His memory is ſtill perpetuated by the Aſſociation of "Rahere Almoners," who meet at ſtated periods in the famed hiſtorical precincts of Smithfield.

Rahere became the firſt Prior of the monaſtery he had thus founded, and ſeems to have eſtabliſhed a fair almoſt ſimultaneouſly, as was indeed the cuſtom of the age. There appears to have exiſted here, even at this early period, a periodical gathering known as the "King's Market," which Mr. Morley conſiders may have been held amongſt the trees, while the Priory was built upon the marſh or ſmooth-field, around which the fair was held. The Prior is ſaid—either in conſequence of his zeal for the monaſtery, or from the old aſſociations of his former profeſſion—to have gone annually into the fair, and exhibited his ſkill as a juggler: giving the largeſſes he ſo received from the ſpectators to the treaſury of the monaſtery.—*Froſt*, p. 9.

Rahere alſo became Lord of the Fair, and his repreſentative preſided as judge in the Court of Piepowder attached to the fair. This court was held within the Priory gates. This at all events was the caſe down to 1445.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

*Firſt Charter*, 1133.

THE Prior obtained from the King a Charter, wherein, after providing for an independent election of a new prior by the monks in the event of Rahere's death, and after confirming the privileges and poſſeſſions of the Priory, it was declared "I grant alſo my firm peace to all perſons coming to and returning from the fair, which is wont to be celebrated in that place at the Feaſt of St. Bartholomew; and I forbid any of the Royal Servants to implead any of their perſons, or without the conſent of the Canons, on thoſe three days, to wit the eve of the feaſt, the feaſt itſelf, and the day following, to levy dues upon thoſe going thither. And let all people in my whole kingdom know that I will maintain and defend this Church, even as my crown; and if any one ſhall preſume to contravene this our Royal privilege, or ſhall offend the prior, the canons, clergy or laity of that place, he, and

all who are his, and everything that belongs to him, ſhall come into the King's power."

In addition to the King's "firm peace," and the uſual privileges, it came to be believed that there were ſpecial miracles in ſtore for thoſe who braved the perils of diſtant travel in making pilgrimage to the Feſtival and Fair of St. Bartholomew. In Mr. Morley's book will be found a long enumeration of theſe. "What wonder (he aſks) if to ſee the miracles worked at the celebration of the Feaſt of St. Bartholomew, in the firſt years after the foundation of his Priory in Smithfield, the people came from far and near, and were to be found 'ſhouldering each other' as well as 'dancing and rejoicing' in a concourſe at the fair"?

1154-86. We have it on the authority of Stow that Henry II. granted to the Priory the privilege of a fair to be kept yearly at Bartholomew tide for three days, to wit the eve, the day, and next morrow; to which the clothiers of all England and drapers of London repaired, and had their booths and ſtandings within the Church Yard of this Priory, cloſed in with walls and gates, locked every night, and watched for ſafety of men's goods and wares. A Court of Piepowder was daily during the fair holden for debts and contracts. But he adds a note in regard to the time of the fair—"that forrens [foreigners] were licenſed for three days; the freedmen ſo long as they would, which was ſixe or ſeven dayes." It is clear that the venerable hiſtorian had mixed and confounded various and diſtinct events. I do not find other reference to this charter of

Henry II. except by Hone, who ſays this charter gave the mayor and aldermen of the City criminal juriſdiction during the fair. The chief articles of commerce at the fair about this period were cloth, ſtuffs, leather, pewter, and live cattle.

1292. The firſt diſpute between the City of London and the Priory of St. Bartholomew regarding the fair aroſe this year. It was on the ſubject of *Tolls*. The fair as we have already ſeen had ſpread beyond the Prior's bounds. The Cuſtos of the City—for in 1288 Edward I. upon a quarrel with the City ſeized its liberties, and Ralph Sandwich was appointed Cuſtos to collect the Tolls for the Sovereign—applied for half the tolls. The Prior claimed the whole on the ground of ancient cuſtom, &c. The King was at Durham, and the matter coming before him on the approach of the fair, made the following order:—

*Dominus Rex &c.*—The Lord the King hath commanded the Cuſtos and Sheriffs in theſe words: Edward by the Grace of God, to the Cuſtos and Sheriffs of London, greeting. Whereas the Prior of St. Bartholomew, of Smithfield in the ſuburbs of London, by the Charters of our progenitors, Kings of England, claimeth to have a certain Fair there every year, during three days viz. on the Eve, the Day, and on the morrow of St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle, with all Liberties and Free Cuſtoms belonging to the Fair; a contention hath ariſen between the ſaid Prior and you the ſaid Cuſtos, who ſue for us concerning the uſe of the liberties of the ſaid Fair, and the free Cuſtoms belonging to it. And hindrance

being made to the ſaid Prior by you the ſaid Cuſtos, as the ſaid Prior aſſerteth, to wit, concerning a Moiety of the Eve and of the whole morrow aforeſaid, concerning this We Will, as well for us as for the aforeſaid Prior, that juſtice be done as it is fit, before our Treaſurer and Barons of the Exchequer, after Michaelmas day next within a month. We command you that ſufficient ſecurity be taken of the ſaid Prior for reſtoring to us on the ſaid day the proceeds of the aforeſaid fair, coming from the moiety of the foreſaid Eve and from the whole morrow, if the ſaid Prior cannot then ſhow ſomething for himſelf, why the ſaid proceeds ought not to belong to us. We command you that ye permit the ſame Prior in the meantime, to receive the foreſaid proceeds in form aforeſaid; and thereto you may leave this Brief. Witneſs myſelf at Durham the 9th day of Aug. in the 20th year of our reign.

While the queſtion was thus pending the diſputants grew ſo warm that the City authorities arreſted ſome of the monks, and confined them in the Tun priſon on Cornhill. They were releaſed by command of the King, but thereupon nine citizens forced the Tun and releaſed all the other priſoners, by way of reſenting the royal interference. The rioters were impriſoned in their turn, and a fine of twenty thouſand marks was impoſed upon the City; but the civic authorities propoſed a compromiſe, and, for a further payment of three thouſand marks, Edward conſented to pardon the offenders, and to reſtore and confirm the privileges of the City.—*Froſt*, pp. 10-11.

The reſult of the reference above ordered to the Barons of the Exchequer &c. was unfavourable to the claim of the City, the Charter of the Hoſpital was again confirmed. The queſtion of the Tolls was not indeed finally diſpoſed of; but as it ſleeps for a century or ſo, we muſt not now depart from the courſe of our record—ſee 1445.

1305. Another and ſpecial incident aroſe at the fair of this year. I will quote the eloquent deſcription of Mr. Morley. On the eve of St. Bartholomew, the firſt day of the fair in the year 1305, the traders and pleaſure-ſeekers, the friars and the jeſters, clothiers, tumblers, walkers upon ſtilts, hurried acroſs the graſs of Smithfield from the ſide on which the fair was being held, to the Gallows under the Elms, where officers of ſtate and a great concourſe of men awaited a moſt welcome ſpectacle. The priory was indeed built on the ſite of the gallows; but in that ſuburban gathering-place of the people—place of executions, place of tournaments, place of markets, place of daily ſport, place of the great annual fair—one gallows-tree was not enough to ſatisfy a juſtice that loved vengeance and had ſlight regard for life. Under the Elms of which already mention has been made (Cow Lane now repreſents their ſite)—under the Elms we read in a cloſe roll, ſo early as the fourth year of Henry III., gallows were built "where they had ſtood before." An execution during fair time on that ancient exhibition ground, was entertainment rarely furniſhed to the public: for the Church forbade, among other work, fulfilment of the ſentence of the law on any holiday of

feſtival; *and a fair was a Saint's Holiday.* But on this occaſion, law was eager to aſſure the execution of its vengeance. The redoubtable Wallace, hero of the Scottiſh people, had been taken. The rugged patriot, ſtrong of heart and ſtrong of hand, had been brought to London in his chains the day before the fair was opened, and on the day of the opening of the fair was arraigned and condemned at Weſtminſter as a traitor, and without even a day's reſpite, at once ſent on to his death. Under the Elms, therefore, in Smithfield, ſtood all the concourſe of Bartholomew fair, when William Wallace was dragged thither in chains at the tails of horſes, bruiſed, bleeding, and polluted with the filth of London. The days had not yet come when that firſt part of the barbarous ſentence on high treaſon was ſoftened by the placing of a hurdle between the condemned man and the mud and flint over which he was dragged. Trade in the fair was forgotten while the patriot was hanged, but not to death; cut down, yet breathing, and diſembowelled, mummers and merchants ſaw the bowels burnt before the dying hero's face, then ſaw the executioner ſtrike off his head, quarter his body, and diſpatch from the ground five baſket-loads of quivering fleſh, deſtined for London, Berwick, Newcaſtle, Aberdeen and Perth. Then, all being over, the ſtilt-walkers ſtrode back acroſs the field, the woman again balanced herſelf head downwards on the points of ſwords; there was mirth again round the guitar and tambourine, the clothiers went back into the Churchyard, and the prieſt perhaps went through a

laſt rehearſal with the man who was to be miraculouſly healed in church on the ſucceeding day!—"Memorials of Bartholomew Fair," pp. 71-2.

1321. In this, the 14th Edward II. there was iſſued a writ inquiring by what warrant the Priory held its rights over Bartholomew Fair. This writ was part of the machinery of a general inquiſition into the rights claimed by ſubjects, which had in many caſes been alienated without licenſe from the crown, and often gave riſe to private oppreſſion of the people. The Prior pleaded the Royal Charters of his houſe and teſtified upon oath that his predeceſſors had held ſuch a three-day fair ſince times beyond the reach of memory. The juſtification ſatisfied the King's Exchequer.

1334. In this, the 7th Edward III. a new Charter of the fair was granted to the Hoſpital of St. Bartholomew confirming the old rights and reaſſuring the King's firm peace to all perſons travelling towards, ſtaying in, or returning from the fair; alſo forbidding any ſervants of a royal or epiſcopal court to implead any of their perſons "or without the conſent of the prior and canons on thoſe three days . . . to exact tolls either without the City or within it, whether in the paſſage of roads or bridges, but let all proceeds that ariſe according to the uſage of fairs belong to the canons of the aforeſaid church." This latter proviſion clearly had reference to the claims of the City. See 1376.

It was a review of theſe and ſimilar facts which induced Mr. Morley to remark that in early times, if not from the beginning, there were practically two

fairs held in Smithfield—one within and one without the Priory bounds. The outer fair, he adds, "was poſſibly compoſed of the mere pleaſure givers and pleaſure ſeekers, who attended on the company of worſhippers and traders then attracted to the priory, and whoſe tents were pitched in the open market of Smithfield, outſide the gates, not [? but] free from toll to the Church. Within the gates, and in the Priory churchyard, the Subſtantial Fair was held" (pp. 61-2).

1348. In the preceding century licenſe had been given by Edward I. to the brethren of the Hoſpital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield to cover with ſtone and wood the ſtream running through the midſt of the hoſpital to Holborn Bridge, "on account of the too great ſtench proceeding from it." The large influx of perſons at the Fair muſt have made matters worſe. In the year 1348 the peſtilence broke out in London at the time of the fair, and ended about fair-time in the following year. During the interval between fair and fair, ſo great had been the mortality that, in addition to the burials in churches and other churchyards, *fifty thouſand* bodies had been buried in the graveyard of the Carthuſians, adjoining the fair ground. Mr. Morley may well aſſume that it muſt have been the great object of intereſt and terror to the ſlender throng of men who hardly dared aſſemble; and who—miſſing from the annual crowd ſo many familiar faces—ſpoke to each other with a feeble hope of the apparent lifting of the plague. "What mirth was there in that handful of the living

camped ſo near the ſilent congregation of the dead?" See 1593.

*New Charter.*—Edward III. under date Auguſt 1, 1376, granted to the Prior, &c., the following charter, which has heretofore eſcaped obſervation, probably becauſe in the records of the City it had been endorſed as a "Writ to proclaim the Fair of the Prior of Saint Bartholomew in Smethefelde," whereas it is ſeen to be a moſt important grant or confirmation of previous charters. I give a full tranſlation, marking certain paſſages with italics:—Edward by the grace of God King of England and of France, and Duke of Ireland, to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London and Middleſex, Greeting. Whereas among other liberties and quittances granted to our beloved in Chriſt the Prior and Convent of the church of Saint Bartholomew of Smethefelde, London, by charters of our progenitors, former Kings of England, which we have confirmed, it is granted to the ſame—That they may have all manner of freedom for ever, and that the church aforeſaid ſhall be as free as any church in the whole of England that is moſt free, and as free as our demeſne chapel, which church alſo our ſaid progenitors granted to will, maintain and defend in manner like as our very crown; and, moreover, *they gave firm peace to thoſe coming to the Fair that is much frequented at the feaſt of Saint Bartholomew* in the ſaid place of Smethefelde, So that in thoſe three days' ſpace, namely, the eve of the feaſt, or the day itſelf, or the day following, from ſuch comers, whether without the City or within, *or in*

*paſſing along the ways or over the bridges, no one ſhall require any cuſtoms,* but that all things which ariſe out of the right of fairs ſhall be to the ſaid church and the Canons ſerving God there, and that if any one ſhall preſume in any thing to contravene this Royal privilege, or ſhall offend the Prior Canons or laymen of that place, he and his men, and all that he has, ſhall devolve into our Royal right: and alſo lord Richard, formerly King of England, our progenitor, by his letters ordered the then Sheriffs of London and Middleſex, and all their bailiffs, that they ſhould neither vex not allow to be vexed the foreſaid Canons of the church of Saint Bartholomew (which is our demeſne chapel) concerning their fair which they have at the feaſt of the ſame church, nor require from thoſe coming to the Fair of Saint Bartholomew for the purpoſe of ſelling or buying, whether without the City or within, or alſo in paſſing along the ways or over the bridges, cuſtoms or ſervices, or anything that may diminiſh the liberty of the ſaid church of Saint Bartholomew—as in the charters, letters and our confirmation aforeſaid more fully is contained: *and now we have underſtood that ſome by ſiniſter covin and conſpiracy previouſly had between them have knaviſhly deſigned to hinder merchants and others who wiſh to come and have been wont to come to the ſaid fair with their merchandiſe, ſo that they cannot come thither and do their buſineſs therein,* as well to the loſs of them the Prior and Convent and overthrow and weakening of their right as to the manifeſt letting and hindrance of our common people: We, duly heeding the fervent

devotion and affection which our foreſaid progenitors had towards the ſaid church, as by the charters and letters aforeſaid more fully doth appear, and willing (as we are bounden) to maintain and defend the ſaid fair, *which for ſo long time hath endured* and was granted by our ſaid progenitors to the honour of God in ſubvention of Holy Church, and all other rights and privileges, left in our time they periſh, have taken into our ſpecial protection and defence the ſaid Prior and Canons, and their men and ſervants, and merchants whomſoever and others wiſhing to come with their goods and things to the ſaid fair, there tarrying and therefrom returning whither they will; and ſo we command you to maintain, protect and defend the ſaid Prior and Canons, their men and ſervants, merchants and others whomſoever coming to the ſaid fair with their goods and things, there tarrying and therefrom returning, and to permit the Prior and Convent to hold their ſaid fair in form aforeſaid, and to receive and have freely and without any hindrance, from thoſe coming to the ſaid fair and returning therefrom, *the cuſtoms and all other the profits which pertain to them in right of the ſaid fair* according to the form of the charters, letters and confirmation aforeſaid, and as they ought to hold the ſame fair and to have and receive the cuſtoms and other things which pertain to that fair, and as they and their predeceſſors have until now held that fair and have been wont to have and receive the cuſtoms and other things which to that fair pertain. And, concerning any pleas or other things to the ſaid fair

for the ſaid three days appertaining, do you in no wiſe intermeddle, neither requiring any thing for cuſtoms and other things to that fair appertaining, nor hindering, moleſting, nor in any way aggrieving the Prior and Canons of the ſaid place as to the receiving of the cuſtoms and profits aforeſaid, nor, as much in you lies, permitting them to be moleſted or aggrieved. And if any ſhall preſume to diminiſh the cuſtoms and rights of the ſaid fair, then be you in aid to the ſaid Prior and Canons, or their bailiffs of the ſaid fair, when hereupon you ſhall be requeſted by them or any one of them, by ſuch ways and methods as ſhall ſeem to you the more expedient, to compel and diſtrain thoſe who would diminiſh the ſaid cuſtoms and rights to yield and pay the ſaid cuſtoms and rights to the ſaid Prior and Convent: and this do you in no wiſe omit. And, that thoſe all and every the premiſes may come to the knowledge of all, and that no one, of what ſtate or condition ſoever he be, under grave forfeiture to us, and under the peril incumbent thereon, may preſume in any manner to practiſe any covin or any other acts calculated to diſturb in any way that fair or the profit of the fair, or the merchants or others, ſo that they cannot lawfully, without damage and in peace come to that fair with their merchandiſe, and do their buſineſs there, and return therefrom, do you cauſe the ſame to be publicly proclaimed, obſerved and held within your bailiwick and diſtricts, where it ſhall ſeem to you moſt expedient, as often as and when hereupon by the ſaid Prior and Convent, or any one of them,

you ſhall on our behalf be requeſted. Witneſs Ourſelf at Weſtminſter the firſt day of Auguſt in the fiftieth year of our reign of England, but of our reign of France the thirty-ſeventh. Faryngton.

¶ This proclamation was made.

*Miracle Plays.*—This Fair of St. Bartholomew was long the ſcene of "miracle plays." The Company of Pariſh Clerks—an incorporated company or gild who had charge of the records, the burials, and afterwards of the births in London, during a very long period—played at Skinners' Well (near Smithfield) before Richard II. and his Queen and Court, towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century; and early in the following they played before Henry IV. at the ſame place, during eight days, "Matter from the Creation of the world." The early plays at this fair are believed to have been repreſentations of great miracles aſcribed to St. Bartholomew. Later came the "myſteries," and finally the "moralities," out of which our modern drama has been developed. All theſe in their turns were preſented at this once famous fair.

*Slaves.*—In this ſame Fair of Smithfield, as well before as after the period upon which I am now writing, men and women—*i.e.*, ſlaves and captives—were ſold among the articles of merchandiſe. And on a part of the ſite over which the fair extended, after the acceſſion of Henry IV., men and women were burnt alive as heretics. The martyr fires were uſually kindled on that ſpot of ground outſide the Priory gates, over which the lighter portion of the fair ſpread—ground occupied by the holiday

makers, and the tumblers, jeſters, and dancers by whom they were entertained.

*Tolls.*—1445. At the cloſe of the thirteenth century there had ariſen a diſpute between the City of London and the Prior regarding the tolls of this Fair, which was then decided in favour of the Priory. When the matter came up for adjudication again does not ſeem clear. The fair had continued to grow, and its greateſt expanſion was in the direction of the City. Indeed, at this or a later period, it extended down the weſt ſide of Alderſgate nearly as far as St. Martin's-le-Grand, or to St. Paul's itſelf. On the other ſide the juriſdiction of the City extended only to Smithfield Bars. In 1399 Henry IV. had granted to the Citizens of London the office of gathering tolls in Smithfield. Probably in conſequence of this arrangements were come to between the Priory and the City. Certain is it that forty-ſix years later, or in 1445 (23rd Henry VI.), four perſons were appointed by the Court of Aldermen as keepers of Bartholomew Fair and of the Court of Piepowder. In that Court, therefore, the City then became repreſented as joint lord of the Fair with the Priory, the lordſhip of the City being founded on its right over the ground beyond the juriſdiction of the Canons. See 1538 and 1593.

*Diſſolution of Monaſteries.*—1538. This is an eventful year in the hiſtory of the Fair—the Diſſolution of the Monaſtery was declared. The Fair itſelf indeed remained—it was the Priory which created it that had melted away.

Reviewing the fair as it had exiſted during the four centuries paſſed ſince its origin—but many of the details of which I have neceſſarily paſſed over in the preceding outline—we may adopt the picture thus freely drawn by Mr. Morley: Thus we have in the moſt ancient times of the Fair a church full of worſhippers, among whom were the ſick and maimed, praying for health about its altar; a graveyard full of traders, and a place of jeſting and edification, where women and men carouſed in the midſt of the throng; where the minſtrel and the ſtory-teller and the tumbler gathered knots about them; where the Sheriff cauſed new laws to be publiſhed by loud proclamation in the gathering places of the people; where the young men bowled at nine pins, while the clerks and friars peeped at the young maids; where mounted knights and ladies curvetted and ambled, pedlars loudly magnified their wares, the ſcholars met for public wrangle, oxen lowed, horſes neighed, and ſheep bleated among their buyers; where great ſhouts of laughter anſwered to the Ho! Ho! of the devil on the ſtage, above which flags were flying, and below which a band of pipers and guitar beaters added muſic to the din. That ſtage alſo—if ever there was preſented on it the ſtory of the Creation—was the firſt wild-beaſt ſhow in the fair: for one of the dramatic effects connected with this play, as we read in an ancient ſtage direction, was to repreſent the creation of beaſts by unlooſing and ſending among the excited crowd as great a variety of ſtrange animals as could be brought together; and to create

the birds by ſending up a flight of pigeons. Under foot was mud and filth, but the wall that pent the city in ſhone ſunlit among the trees; a freſh breeze came over the ſurrounding fields and brooks, whiſpering among the elms that overhung the moor glittering with pools, or from the Fair's neighbour, the gallows! Shaven heads looked down on the ſcene from the adjacent windows of the buildings bordering the Priory encloſure; and the poor people whom the friars cheriſhed in their hoſpital, made holiday among the reſt. The curfew bell of St. Martin's-le-Grand, the religious houſe to which William the Conqueror had given with its charter the adjacent moorland, and within whoſe walls there was a ſanctuary for looſe people, ſtilled the hum of the crowd at nightfall, and the Fair lay dark under the ſtarlight.

Change produces change; and ſo other events followed at this period. For inſtance, the diſputations of the ſcholars in the Mulberry Garden at the time of the Fair ceaſed after the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſtery. John Stow had witneſſed theſe when a lad, and he furniſhes the following account of the ſame, and of ſome events preceding: "As for the meeting of the Schoolmaſters on Feſtival Days at Feſtival Churches, and the diſputing of the ſcholars logically, &c., whereof I have before ſpoken, the ſame was long ſince diſcontinued; but the arguing of the ſchoolboys about the principles of grammar hath been continued even till our time; for I myſelf, in my youth, have yearly ſeen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the Apoſtle, the ſcholars of

divers Grammar ſchools repair unto the Churchyard of St. Bartholomew . . . . where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, ſome one ſcholar hath ſtepped up, and there hath oppoſed and anſwered till he were by ſome better ſcholar overcome and put down; and then the overcomer taking the place did like as the firſt. And in the end the beſt oppoſers and anſwerers had rewards, which I obſerved not but it made good ſchoolmaſters and alſo good ſcholars diligently againſt ſuch times to prepare themſelves for the obtaining of this garland. I remember there repaired to theſe exerciſes amongſt others, the maſters and ſcholars of the free ſchools of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peter's at Weſtminſter, of Thomas Acon's Hoſpital, and of St. Anthonie's Hoſpital; whereof the laſt named commonly preſented the beſt ſcholars and had the prize in thoſe days. This priory of St. Bartholomew being ſurrendered to Henry the Eighth, thoſe diſputations of ſcholars in that place ſurceaſed; and was again, only for a year or twain, revived in the Cloiſter of Chriſt's Hoſpital, where the beſt ſcholars, then ſtill of St. Anthonie's School, howſoever the ſame be now fallen both in number and eſtimation, were rewarded with bows and arrows of ſilver, given to them by Sir Martin Bower, goldſmith. Nevertheleſs however, the encouragement failed—the ſcholars of St. Paul's meeting with thoſe of St. Anthonie's would call them Anthonie's Pigs, and they again would call the others Pigeons of Paul's becauſe many pigeons were bred in St. Paul's Church, and St. Anthonie was always figured with a pig fol-

lowing him; and mindful of the former uſage, did for a long ſeaſon diſorderly provoke one another in the open ſtreet with '*Salve* tu quoque, placet mecum diſputare?'—'Placet.' And ſo proceeding from this to queſtions in grammar, they uſually fell from words to blows with their ſatchels full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the ſtreets and paſſengers; ſo that finally they were reſtrained with the decay of St. Anthonie's ſchool."

It was during this reign of Henry VIII. that Grotwell (or Cartwell), himſelf a common hangman—for there were then many of this occupation, and plenty of employment—was hanged with two others, for robbing a booth at the Fair. They were executed in the wreſtling place at Clerkenwell.

I may reſume the hiſtorical narration. When the King had taken the eſtates of the greater monasteries, they were put under the management of a Royal Commiſſion, with Sir Richard Rich—under the ſtyle of Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations—at its head. The Prior's houſe became Lord Rich's town manſion; and with this manſion in Great St. Bartholomew there had been aſſigned to him and his for ever, the Cloſe of the ſaid late monaſtery or priory called Great St. Bartholomew Cloſe, and all the limits and precincts of the ſaid Cloſe; alſo all thoſe cloſes, edifices, called the fermery, the dorter, the frater, the cloiſters, the gallery, the hall, the kitchen, the buttery, the pantry, the old kitchen, the woodhouſe, the garner, and the Prior's ſtable, of the ſaid late monaſtery and priory belonging; and alſo all that water and the aqueduct and water-

courſe coming from the conduit-head of St. Bartholomew in the manor of Canonbury.

By the ſame Letters Patent the King farther granted to Sir Richard Rich, knight, his heirs and aſſigns, "all that Our Fair and Markets, commonly named and called Bartholomew Fair, holden and to be holden every year within the aforeſaid Cloſe called Great St. Bartholomew Cloſe, and in Weſt Smithfield aforeſaid to continue yearly for three days," &c. And alſo all the ſtallage, piccage, toll, and cuſtoms of the ſame Fair and Markets; and alſo all our Courts of Piepowders within the ſame; alſo the ſcrutiny of weights and meaſures and things expoſed to ſale, and the Aſſize of bread, wine, and ale, and other victuals. This grant included the tolls of the Cloth Fair, but not, of courſe, the rights of the City to the tolls for the fair outſide St. Bartholomew's encloſure.

*Growth of London.*—1590. During the reign of Elizabeth various attempts had been made to ſtop the growth of London. Proclamations had been iſſued forbidding under heavy diſpleaſure the building of new houſes. But the Elizabethan era was an important one in the development of commerce, as it had been in the foſtering of learning; and with the development of commerce there came a greater influx of ſtrangers into the city. Thus it came about that more houſes in the city were imperative. It was found that the lines of trade marked at Bartholomew Fair by the ſtandings of the clothiers and others, would yield more money as ſtreets of houſes than as ſtreets of booths, and ſo, before the cloſe of

the century, as Stow tells us, "notwithſtanding all proclamations of the prince, and alſo the act of parliament, in place of booths within the churchyard (only let out in the fair time and cloſed up all the year after) be many large houſes built, and the north wall towards Long Lane taken down, and a number of tenements are there erected for ſuch as will give great rents." This laſt line of tradinghouſes was ſubſtituted for the profitleſs dead wall. Parallel with it, through the ground vacant of building north of the church, which that wall had encloſed, parallel alſo with one of the church walls, a ſtreet of conſiderable houſes occupied the ſite and kept the name of Cloth Fair.

*Plague.*—1593 (53rd of Elizabeth). The plague being now prevailing in the city, the queen iſſued a proclamation on 6th Auguſt, about three weeks before the uſual time of the fair, in ſubſtance as follows:—Whereas there was a general reſort of all kinds of people out of every part of the realm to the ſaid fair; but that (on this occaſion) in the uſual place of Smithfield there ſhould be no manner of market for any wares kept, nor any ſtalls or booths for any manner of merchandiſe, or for victuals, ſuffered to be ſet up; but that the open ſpace of the ground called Smithfield, be only occupied with the ſale of horſes and cattle, and of ſtall wares, as butter, cheeſe, and ſuch like in groſs, and not by retail, the ſame to continue for the ſpace of two days only.

And for the vent of woollen cloths, kerſeys, and linen cloth, to be all ſold in groſs and not by retail;

the ſame ſhould be brought within the cloſe-yard of St. Bartholomew (afterwards known as the Cloth Fair) where ſhops were there continued (*i.e.* not deſerted by reaſon of the plague) and have gates to ſhut the ſame place in the nights, and then ſuch to be offered to ſale, and to be bought in groſs and not by retail; the ſame market to continue but three days—that is to ſay Even, the Day of St. Bartholomew and the Morrow after.

And that the ſale and vent of leather be kept in the outſide of the ring of Smithfield, as had been accuſtomed, without erecting of any ſhops or booths for the ſame, or for any victualler or other occupier of any wares whatſoever.

And that notice hereof be given to ſuch of H. M.'s good ſubjects as for lack of knowledge of this H. M.'s princely ordonnance might reſort to London to ſell or buy ſmall wares by retail, and there receive infection, and carry the ſame into their countries, H. M. commanded that the Lord Mayor of London ſhould cauſe this proclamation to be preſently publiſhed in all the uſual places in the City, in the time of two or three market days, and to be alſo Proclaimed by the Sheriffs of Middleſex, Kent, Surrey, and Eſſex, in ſome places of thoſe Counties near to the ſaid City, whereby none might reſort to the City at this Feaſt of St. Bartholomew, by pretence of any Fair, but ſuch as ſhould have cauſe to ſell or buy the commodities in groſs.

Impriſonment, without bail, during the Queen's pleaſure, or further puniſhment, was to be the penalty for the infraction of this ordinance. Mr.

Morley, reviewing this proclamation, ſays the inference to be drawn from it was that the fair, as a place of wholeſale commerce, was not to be ſuppreſſed without more injury to trade than the fear of plague would force the Queen's adviſers to inflict. But this conſideration muſt be qualified by the fact that the chief riſk came from the throng of pedlers, hawkers, ſtall-keepers, ſhowmen, and holiday-makers from the country round about; and that the ſoberer reſort of merchants to the fair, while it was certainly in one reſpect a greater good, was in the other reſpect alſo a leſſer evil. Alſo, there was a wealthy nobleman at court unwilling to part with a year's tolls from the Cloth Fair and the Cloſe, and able to urge actively, from motives of ſelf-intereſt, conſiderations that were, at the ſame time, not wanting in juſtice.

1596. A formal agreement was made between Lord Rich and the Corporation of London, eſtabliſhing a compoſition of the tolls of the fair; and, as to juriſdiction, placing both parties nearly in the relative poſition occupied by the Priory and the Corporation in 1445.

*A Foreigner's View of the Fair.*—1598. Paul Hentzner, a German tutor, travelled this year through Germany, France, Italy, and England, and kept an "Itinerarum," of which many editions have been publiſhed. I quote the following deſcription of Bartholomew Fair from the Aungervyle Society's tranſlation (1881):—"It is worthy of obſervation that every year upon St. Bartholomew's Day, when a fair is held, it is uſual for the Mayor,

attended by the twelve principal Aldermen, to walk in a neighbouring field dreſſed in his Scarlet Gown, and about his neck a Golden Chain, to which is hung a Golden Fleece, and beſides that particular ornament, which diſtinguiſhed the moſt noble Order of the Garter . . . himſelf and they on horſeback; upon their arrival at a place appointed for that purpoſe, where a tent is pitched, the mob begin to wreſtle before them, two at a time; the conquerors receive rewards from the magiſtrates. After this is over, a parcel of live rabbits are turned looſe among the crowd, which are purſued by a number of boys who endeavour to catch them, with all the noiſe they can make. While we were at this ſhow, one of our company, Tobias Salander, Doctor of Phyſic, had his pocket picked of his purſe, with nine crowns *du ſoleil*, which without doubt was ſo cleverly taken from him by an Engliſhman who always kept cloſe to him, that the Doctor did not the leaſt perceive it."

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1603.

THE plague was again threatening the City, and James I. iſſued a proclamation, dated from Hampton Court, 8th Auguſt, ordaining that for the "deſire of preventing an univerſal contagion among our people," that (*inter alia*) Bartholomew Fair ſhould not be holden, "nor anything appertaining unto them, at the times accuſtomed, *nor any time till they ſhall be licenſed by us*." Theſe laſt words might have been held to imply more than was directly underſtood.

*Proclamation by City of London.*—1604. The arrangement of 1596 prepared the way for the Corporation taking the active control of the fair. Hence among the Orders of my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs for their meetings and wearing of their apparel through this year, was the following :—

"ON SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S EVEN FOR THE FAIR IN SMITHFIELD.—The Aldermen meet my

Lord and the Sheriffs at the Guildhall Chapel, at two of the Clock after dinner, in their violet gowns lined, and their horſes, without cloaks, and there hear Evening Prayer; which being done, they take their horſes and ride to Newgate, and ſo forth to the gate entering in at the Cloth Fair, and there make a Proclamation," which was as follows:—

PROCLAMATION.—The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the City of London, and his right worſhipful Bretheren the Aldermen of the ſaid City, ſtreightly charge and command, on the behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, that all manner of perſons, of whatſoever eſtate, degree, or condition they be, having recourſe to this fair, keep the Peace of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King.

That no manner of perſons make any congregation, conventicle, or affrays, by the which the ſame peace may be broken or diſturbed, upon pain of impriſonment and fine, to be made after the diſcretion of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

Alſo, that all manner of Sellers of wine, ale, or beer, ſell by meaſures enſealed, as by gallon, pottle, quart and pint, upon pain that will fall thereof.

And that no perſon ſell any bread, but if it keep the aſſize, and that it be good and wholeſome for man's body, upon pain that will fall thereof.

And that no manner of perſon buy nor ſell but with true weights and meaſures, ſealed according to the Statute in that behalf made, upon pain that will fall thereof.

And that no manner of perſon, or perſons take

upon him, or them, within this Fair to make any manner of arreſt, attachment, ſummons, or execution, but if it be done by the officer of this City, thereunto aſſigned, upon pain that will fall thereof.

And that no perſon or perſons whatſoever, within the limits and bounds of this fair, preſume to break the Lord's Day in ſelling, ſhowing, or offering for ſale, or in buying or offering to buy, any commodities whatſoever, or in ſitting, tippling, or drinking in any tavern, inn, alehouſe, or cook's-houſe, or in doing any other thing that may lead to any breach thereof, upon the pain and penalties contained in the ſeveral acts of parliament, which will be ſeverely inflicted upon the breakers hereof.

And finally, that whatever perſon ſoever find themſelves aggrieved, injured or wronged by any manner of perſon in this Fair, that they come with their plaints before the Stewards of this Fair, aſſigned to hear and determine pleas, and they will miniſter to all parties juſtice, according to the laws of the Land and the Cuſtoms of this City. God ſave the King!

Then, the mayor, ſheriffs and aldermen, ſitting on horſeback, robed in their violet gowns, having again made this proclamation at a point between the City Fair and that owned by the Warwick or Holland family (as ſucceſſors of Sir Richard Rich?), ride through the Cloth Fair, and ſo return back again, through the Churchyard of Great St. Bartholomew's to Alderſgate, and thence home again to the Lord Mayor's houſe.

Tradition declares that the mayor, when he had

read the Proclamation, drank ale from a ſilver flagon, and that thereupon the buſtle and buſineſs of the fair began. I believe as a matter of fact the proclamation was uſually read by the Lord Mayor's attorney, and repeated after him by the ſheriff's officer, in the preſence of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs. The officers of the Lord Mayor's houſehold afterwards dined at the Sword-bearer's table. This may have become the cuſtom at a later date. See 1688.

*Merchant Taylors' right of Search.*—1609. An incident occurred this year which raiſed the queſtion of juriſdiction concerning an important function which had heretofore been deemed of much conſequence. Immediately before the fair of this year the Drapers queſtioned the right of ſearch, for cloth pieces of inſufficient length or quality, as exerciſed by the Merchant Taylors. What followed is ſhown by the records of the laſt-named company. Its clerk was ordered thereupon to attend Drapers' Hall on the next court day with a meſſage to the following purport, viz., That the Merchant Taylors' Company had right to ſearch, and that they had quietly enjoyed the ſame ſince the 27th of Henry VI., being above 150 years past, and ſtill earlier, as by the Merchant Taylors' records appeared, wherein is mentioned a lengthened lawſuit between them and the Drapers about the ſame queſtion of right of ſearch, when a ſentence was paſſed for the Merchant Taylors. There is in 1612 a note of a dinner at Merchant Taylors' Hall "for the ſearch on St. Bartholomew's Eve."

The Drapers were incorporated as a Guild in 1364. In their charter was a ſpecial exemption made againſt any prohibitions to be exerciſed by the Company regarding the ſale of cloth by any who were not free drapers, in favour of the King's beloved in God, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Weſt Smithfield, and other lords who had fairs in the ſuburbs of London. A draper meant originally one who made the cloth he ſold. It was the London deſignation for clothier, a very few members of the Drapers' Company being reſident beyond the limits of the City. Therefore, ſay the old writers, that Bartholomew Fair was frequented by "the clothiers of England and the drapers of London." Mercers eſpecially frequented fairs and markets, where their ſtandings were gay with haberdaſhery, toys, and even drugs and ſpices, the ſmall articles of traffic on which they throve. Mercers attending the French fairs towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century paid only half-toll when they were not ſtall keepers, but expoſed their wares on the ground. They, and the claſs of pedlers to which they were allied, may have enjoyed a like privilege in England. But while many of the mercers were thus of the brotherhood of Autolycus, others dealt largely in ſilk and velvet, and abandoned to the haberdaſher traffic in ſmall articles of dreſs. Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, was a mercer.—*Vide Morley*, p. 95.

*Paving the Streets.*—1614. This was an important year in the annals of Smithfield. It paſſed from its old and normal condition of mud, into a

clean and paved encloſure, ſuch as was familiar to many of us before the new market buildings were erected in 1866. Other changes had preceded. It was not until 1608 that the City had obtained a grant of the ground of the late Priory of St. Bartholomew, which had been conſtituted into a pariſh after the diſſolution. Again, while it had ceaſed ſome time before to be the ſcene of the morning performances of the common hangman—Tyburn (itſelf afterwards abſorbed in May Fair) having ſucceeded to the diſtinction; it had ſtill remained the *locus* of a far more ſavage form of perſecution. The aſhes of the laſt martyr fire had burned out in 1611—the victim being Bartholomew Leggatt, a pious Unitarian, burnt for diſtruſt of the Athanaſian and Nicene creeds, by the order of James I. at the ſentence of John King, newly-made Biſhop of London!

*The Drama.*—As if more prominently to mark the tranſition ſtate laſt indicated, and perchance alſo as a memento, that in the very place had been enacted (under the patronage of and for the purpoſes of the Church) the firſt drama that England had ever ſeen; and which had ſtep by ſtep progreſſed from myſteries to miracle plays, thence on to moralities, and was now advancing to the ſtate of taking an independent ſtand as a National Drama—as if, I ſay, to commemorate this circumſtance with emphaſis, "rare Ben Jonſon" produced his celebrated comedy of "Bartholomew Fair," one of the chief features in which is the vivid painting of the characters through whom the ſatiriſt portrays

the follies of the fair. They are many and various; each one planned to bring into prominence one of the characteriſtics of the motley gathering. Competent authorities have declared this to be equal to any of the beſt works of the author. I confeſs not to have diſcovered many points for admiration. There are a few good points in it which may be reproduced. A ſtranger appears in the fair, a Puritan, deſignated Zealot-of-the-land Buſy. He is ordered to be put in the ſtocks, and ſays "I do obey thee, the Lion may roar but he cannot bite. I am glad to be thus ſeparated from the *Heathen* of the Land, and put apart in the Stocks for the holy cauſe." Humphrey Waſp inquires who he is. He replies "One that rejoiceth in his affliction, and ſitteth here to prophecy the Deſtruction of *Fairs*, and May-games, Wakes, and Whitſon-ales, and doth ſigh and groan for the reformation of theſe abuſes." Lanthorn Leatherhead recounts ſome of the "motions" (plays) in which he had taken part at this fair. "'Jeruſalem' was a ſtately thing, and ſo was 'Nineveh,' and the 'City of Norwich' and 'Sodom and Gomorrah;' with the riſing o' the Prentices . . .; but the 'Gunpowder-plot,' there was a get-penny! I have preſented that to an eighteen or twenty-pence audience nine times in an afternoon. Your home-born projects ever prove the beſt, they are ſo eaſy and familiar; they put too much learning in their things now o' days." In this ſpirit John Littlewit had been adapting a too claſſical play to the comprehenſion of the frequenters of the fair, "as for the *Helleſpont*, I imagine our Thames

here; and their *Leander* I make a Dyer's ſon about Puddle Wharf; and *Hero* a wench of the Bankſide, who going over one morning to Old Fiſh Street, *Leander* ſpies her land at Trig-ſtairs, and falls in love with her; now do I introduce *Cupid*, having metamorphoz'd himſelf to a drawer [pot-boy] and he ſtrikes *Hero* in love with a pint of ſherry. . . ."

*The Plague.*—1625. The Plague again appeared in the Kingdom, and Charles I. iſſued a Proclamation from his Court at Woodſtock, wherein he recites that there is uſually extraordinary reſort *out of all parts of the Kingdom* of perſons to attend this and Stourbridge Fair; hence there is prohibition againſt attending these fairs or any others held within fifty miles of the City of London.

1630. Another like proclamation in conſequence of Plague—this time being in Cambridge. The King remembering that there were at hand "three great Fairs of Special note, unto which there is extraordinary reſort from all parts of the Kingdom," atttendance at Bartholomew, Stourbridge and Our Lady Fair (Southwark) was prohibited.

1637. Again the Plague, and there was iſſued: By the King. A Proclamation for putting off this next Bartholomew Faire in Smithfield, and our Lady Faire in Southwarke. Giuen at our Court at Oatelands, the three and twentieth day of Iuly in the thirteenth yeare of our Reigne. God ſaue the King. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's moſt excellent Maieſtie: And by the Aſſigns of Iohn Bill. 1637.

A ſheet in Black Letter. Copy in Mr. Huth's Library.

*New Grant to the City.*—1638. Charles I. this year granted a Charter to London which contained the following:

We will alſo, and by theſe preſents for us our heirs and ſucceſſors declare and grant that the ſaid Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens and their ſucceſſors for ever may have hold and enjoy all thoſe fields called or known by the name of . . . and alſo all that field called Weſt-Smithfield in the Pariſh of St. Sepulchre's, St. Bartholomew the Great, St. Bartholomew the Leſs in the ſuburbs of London, or in ſome of them, to the uſes, intents and purpoſes after expreſſed; and that the ſame Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens, and their ſucceſſors may be able to hold in the ſaid field called Smithfield, *Fairs* and *Markets* there to be and uſed to be held, and to take receive and have pickage, ſtallage, tolls and profits appertaining, happening, belonging or ariſing out of the fairs and markets there, to ſuch uſes as the ſame mayor and commonalty and citizens, or their predeceſſors had, held or enjoyed, and now have, hold and enjoy, or ought to have, hold or enjoy the ſaid premiſes laſt mentioned, and to no other uſes, intents and purpoſes whatſoever.

*Wreſtling Matches.*—It had been the time-honoured cuſtom of this fair to have conteſts in wreſtling. And during the reign of James I. (apparently) the Corporation of the City laid down the following regulation to be obſerved on the

attendance of the Mayor and members of the Corporation to witneſs the ſport:

"ON BARTHOLOMEW DAY FOR WRESTLING.—So many Aldermen as dine with my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, be apparelled in their ſcarlet gowns, lined, and after dinner their horſes be brought to them where they dine, and thoſe aldermen which dine with the ſheriffs, ride with them to my lord's houſe to accompany him to wreſtling. Then when the wreſtling is done, they take their horſes, and ride back again thro' the Fair, and ſo in at Alderſgate, and ſo home again to the ſaid Lord Mayor's houſe."

Then there was a regulation for attending the "Shooting" there, as follows: "The next day, if it be not Sunday, for the Shooting as upon Bartholomews day, but if it be Sunday, the Monday following."

*Deſcription of the Fair.*—1641. There was publiſhed a Tract (a ſmall quarto of four leaves): "Bartholomew Faire, or Variety of fancies, where you may find, a faire of wares and all to pleaſe your mind. With the ſeverall Enormityes and miſdemeanours, which are there ſeene and acted. London, printed for Richard Harper at the Bible and Harp in Smithfield," wherein the author, after giving a graphic account of the art of picking pockets there, proceeds:

It is remarkable and worth your obſervation, to behold and hear the ſtrange ſights and confuſed noiſes in the fair. Here a knave in a Fool's coat, with a trumpet ſounding, or on a drum beating,

invites you and would fain perſuade you to ſee his puppets; there a Rogue like a Wild Woodman, or in an antick ſhape like an incubus, deſires your company to view his motion; on the other ſide Hocus Pocus with three yards of tape or ribbon in 's hand, ſhowing the art of Legerdemain to the admiration and aſtoniſhment of a company of cockoloaches. Amongſt theſe you ſhall ſee a gray Gooſecap (as wiſe as the reſt) with a What de ye lack? in his mouth, ſtanding on his booth ſhaking a rattle, or ſcraping on a fiddle, with which children are ſo taken, that they preſently cry out for theſe fopperies; And all theſe together make ſuch a diſtracted noiſe, that you would think Babel were not comparable to it. Here there are alſo your gameſters in action; ſome turning of a whimſey, others throwing for pewter, who can quickly diſſolve a round ſhilling into a three half-penny ſaucer.

Long Lane at this time looks very fair, and puts out her beſt clothes with the wrong ſide outwards, ſo turned for their better turning off; and Cloth Fair is now in great requeſt: well fare the alehouſes therein; yet better may a man fare (but at a dearer rate) in the Pig market, alias Paſty nook or Pie Corner, where pigs are all hours of the day on the ſtalls piping hot, and would cry (if they could ſpeak) Come eat me; but they are . . . dear and the reckonings for them are . . . ſaucy, &c. &c.

It is clear that the glory of the fair is departing —Royal Proclamations notwithſtanding.

*Political Pamphlets.*—1647. It ſeems to have become the faſhion to deſignate ſome of the many

political pamphlets of this period "Bartholomew Fairings." One ſuch work appeared this year entitled: "General Maſſey's Bartholomew Fayrings to Colonel Poyntz." This was aſcribed to the famous John Lilburne. It was anſwered in another pamphlet: "Reformados Righted, being an Anſwer to a paltry piece of Poetry entitled, &c." There is nothing in either of theſe throwing any light upon the fair. The ſame was not quite the caſe with a quarto pamphlet of the following year: "An Agitator Anatomiſed." Here was reference to "a large and beautiful Camel from Grand Cairo in Egypt." Mr. Morley thinks this may have been the beginning of "wild-beaſt ſhows" in the fair.

This year the Act was paſſed againſt "Stage plays." It ſeemed deſtined to have an influence on the fair.

1648. Evelyn in his "Diary," under date 28th Auguſt this year, notices his coming to London from Say's Court and ſeeing the "the celebrated follies of Bartholomew Fair." The date here ſeems to indicate ſome change in the date of the fair.

*The Commonwealth and the Fair.*—1649. This was a year of political commotion. The troubles with the King had terminated on the block. There was iſſued in the form of a tract, a book-play entitled: "A Bartholomew Fairing, New, New, New; Sent from the raiſed ſiege before Dublin, as a preparatory Preſent to the Great Thankſgiving Day. To be communicated onely to Independents." It was publiſhed without any printer's name. Its contents throw ſome light upon the political events

of the period; but theſe have no bearing upon the fair, preſent or future.

It ſeems indeed to have been anticipated that the advent of the Puritans into power in this the firſt year of the Commonwealth might have led to the ſuppreſſion of the fair. The ſpeech of Zealot-of-the-land Buſy, while ſitting in the ſtocks at the fair in 1614 ("Bartholomew Fair," by Ben Jonſon) ſeemed prophetically to hint at this. Mr. Morley gives the following inſtructive picture of the period:

The Puritans did not ſuppreſs Bartholomew Fair. There were indeed no dramas performed in it by living actors, but the ſtate did not condeſcend, like Rabbi Buſy, to engage in controverſy with the puppets. It was for the Corporation of London, if it pleaſed, to exerciſe control, and there was a Lord Mayor, who, as we ſhall ſee, did make himſelf eminent for an attack upon the wooden Dagons of the Show. Against the fool in his motley none made war; Cromwell himſelf had in his private ſervice four buffoons, and had he viſited the fair, true hero as he was, might have been well diſpoſed to mount a hobby-horſe. Therefore the clown ſtill jeſted, and the toyman thruſt his baubles in the face of the Roundhead, while the Cavalier's lady, with a conſtellation of black ſtars about her noſe, a moon of ink on her chin, and a coach and horſes—a very faſhionable patch—on her forehead, laughed at the ſhort hair under the broad-brimmed hat of the offended gentleman. Well might ſhe laugh at the miſerable ſcarecrow in plain cloak and jerkin, and

in boots that fitted him: for he had no love locks and no peaked beard like the gallant at her ſide; he wore only a little pecked band inſtead of a laced collar, and as for his breeches—not only did they want ornament and width; but they even ſhowed no elegant bit of ſhirt protruding over them! Acroſs the Smithfield pavement, Cavaliers in boots two inches too long, and with laced tops wide enough to contain each of them a gooſe, ſtraddled about; compelled to ſtraddle in order that the long and jingling ſpur of one boot, hooked into the ruffle of the other, might not bring down the whole man into the gutter. Women I ſay might note ſuch things, but the men were in earneſt. The dainty Cavalier in the hiſtorical ſhirt, embroidered with the deeds of profane heroes, might glance from the ſpeckled face of his companion towards the clean cheeks of the Puritan maid in the religious petticoat worked over with texts and ſcripture ſcenes; all had their vanities, their froth of weakneſs floating looſe above the ſtorm; all had an eye for the jeſt of the fair, but under it lay in a heaving maſs the ſolemn earneſt of the time. The fair brought together from almoſt all parts of England, men who had urgent thoughts to exchange, harmonies and conflicts now of principle and now of paſſion to expreſs. The deſtiny of fatherland was hidden from all in a future black with doubt. Men brave and honeſt had their ſouls pledged in allegiance to an earthly king, over whom and againſt whom others as brave and as honeſt ſet up rights given to them by the King of kings.

1650. There was publiſhed a broadſide and cut, with a "Deſcription of Bartholomew Fair:"—

> "Whether this be wit or nonſence, who need care,
> 'Tis like the ſubject, which is Bartholomew Fair:
> A meſs of altogether, well enough,
> To get good money, which will make us huff,
> And ſwagger bravely, drink a glaſs or ſo,
> With ſome kind ſhe-acquaintance which you know,
> Are pretty tempting things, ſo much for that,
> I muſt now come and tell you plain and flat:
> That in this ſong the whole Fair you may view,
> You may believe me when I tell you true."

Set to the tune of "Digby's Farewell." Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke. Containing twelve ſtanzas of eight lines.

1656. During the Commonwealth ſeveral attempts were made by the lord mayors to put ſome check on the freedom of this fair.[1] One of them, Sir John Deltrich, was knighted by Cromwell ſoon after the fair-time (viz. 5th Sept.) in 1656; and it has been rightly aſſumed that he was the mayor who preſſed hard againſt thoſe puppet ſhowmen and others who had commenced the buſineſs of the fair, as he conceived, twelve hours too ſoon, and were already at work when he arrived to proclaim the opening. This event appears to have led to a burleſque opening by a company of tailors who met at the "Hand and Shears" already noticed on the

[1] The Vagrancy and Mendicity Acts were called into aid. Under theſe, "homeleſs beggars" were to be ſent to their own pariſh. It is probable that the numbers were too great to be dealt with efficiently.

night before the official opening, elected a chairman, and as the clock ſtruck twelve, went out into the Cloth Fair, each with a pair of ſhears in his hand. The chairman then proclaimed the fair to the expectant mob; and then all formed a proceſſion to proceed in tumultuous array to announce the fair to the ſleepers in Smithfield, by the ringing of bells and other diſcordant manifeſtations. The following is the form of proclamation uſed, and contains nothing objectionable.

*An unauthoriſed Proclamation.*—O yez! O yez! O yez! All manner of perſons may take notice that in the Cloſe of St. Bartholomew the Great and Weſt Smithfield, London, and the ſtreets, lanes and places adjoining, is now to be held a Fair for this day and the two days following, to which all people may freely reſort and buy and ſell according to the Liberties and Privileges of the ſaid Fair, and may depart without diſturbance, paying their duties. And all perſons are ſtrictly charged and commanded in His Majeſty's name, to help the peace, and to do nothing in the diſturbance of the ſaid Fair, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril; and that there be no manner of arreſt or arreſts but by ſuch officers as are appointed. And if any perſon be aggrieved, let them repair to the Court of Pie-Powder, where they will have ſpeedy relief according to Juſtice and Equity. God ſave the King.

This irregular proclamation ſeems to have been accepted as a legal act by the Lord Kenſington who had become owner of one-half of the tolls of the fair, and it continued down to 1839. It was but

a repetition of the double juriſdiction claimed in Sturbridge Fair.

There is in the library of the Britiſh Muſeum a doggrel ballad, printed as a broad-ſheet, called "The Dagonizing of Bartholomew Fair," which deſcribes, with coarſe humour—the groſſneſs of which may be attributed in part to the mingled reſentment and contempt which underlies it—the meaſures taken by the civil authorities for the removal from the fair of the ſhowmen who had pitched there in ſpite of the determination of the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen to ſuppreſs with the utmoſt rigour everything which could move to laughter or miniſter to wonder. Among theſe are mentioned a fire-eating conjuror, a "Jack Pudding," and "wonders made of wax," being the earlieſt notice of a waxwork exhibition which I have been able to diſcover.—FROST'S *Old Showman*, &c., p. 31.

In "A Caveat for Cut-purſes," a ballad of the time of Charles I., there is the following:—

> "The Players do tell you, in Bartholomew Faire,
> What ſecret conſumptions and raſcals you are;
> For one of their Actors, it ſeems, had the fate
> By ſome of your trade to be fleeced of late."

In another ballad, "Ragged and Torn and True," there is this:—

> "The pick-pockets in a throng
> At a market or a faire,
> Will try whoſe purſe is ſtrong,
> That they may the money ſhare."

*The Reſtoration.*—1661. The Reſtoration led to

a conſiderable reaction from the ſeverities of the Commonwealth, and the incidents of the fair were affected thereby, as will be ſeen. The firſt noticeable feature is that the period of the fair becomes permanently prolonged from three to fourteen days; with occaſional extenſions it is ſaid to fix weeks' riot and amuſement. Another that the pamphleteering continued to be aſſociated with the fair. There was one "Strange News from Bartholomew Fair" &c. by Peter Aretine, printed for "Theodoſus Microcoſmus." The contents of this publication are altogether too groſs for detailed mention. There was another tract "News from Bartholomew Fair. Or the World's Mad: being a Deſcription of the Varieties and Fooleries of this preſent Age," with Allowance (*i.e.* Licenſed) "Printed for the general uſe of the Buyer, and perticular Benefit of the Seller." It had for motto "Riſum teneatis amici?" and a frontiſpiece repreſenting a modified Puritan, in preſence of Jacob Hall the faſhionable rope-dancer, exhibiting the varieties of dreſs!

1663. "Pepys's Diary," that never-failing ſource of reference, throws ſome light upon the doings of the fair at this period. On the 25th Aug. morrow of St. Bartholomew's Day (new ſtyle), Mr. Pepys going at noon to the Exchange, met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall Street, and upon inquiry found that he was "Clerk of the City Market:" three or four men attended him each carrying an arrow of a pound weight in his hand. This was a revival by the Lord Mayor of the old City cuſtom of challenging any to ſhoot at the

fair. The previous day his lordſhip had attended to witneſs the wreſtling. On the following there was to be the civic hunting! But the feeling had ſo far changed (perhaps in conſequence of the event of 1656) that the Lord Mayor's preſence was not deſired at this. "The people of the fair cry out upon it, as a great hindrance to them."

1664. From the correſpondence of the philoſopher John Locke, at this date it is clear he had elbowed his way with the reſt of the world through the crowd and made a ſtudy of this fair. Thus deſcribing the ſights of the city of Cleves (from whence he writes) to John Strachy at Briſtol, he ſays "In the principal church at Cleves was a little altar for the ſervice of Chriſtmas Day. The ſcene was a ſtable, wherein was an ox, an aſs, a cradle, the Virgin, the Babe, Joſeph, ſhepherds, and angels, dramatis perſonæ. Had they but given them motion it had been a perfect Puppet play, and might have deſerved pence a piece; for they were of the ſame ſize and make that our Engliſh puppets are; and I am confident theſe ſhepherds and this Joſeph are kin to that Judith and Holophernes which I had ſeen at Bartholomew Fair."

*Plague.*—1665-6. There was no fair in theſe years in conſequence of the Plague viſitation. In the former of the two years at the uſual fair-time bale fires were burning in the ſtreets night and day to purify the air, and they continued until quenched by heavy rain. In the following year there occurred during the fair-time (as now extended) the Great Fire of London, flames two miles in extent and a

mile in breadth, with ſmoke extending fifty miles. There would have been a ſcene of intenſe confuſion if the fair had been gathered; no real danger, perhaps, as the conflagration ended at Pye Corner, on the verge of the ſite of the fair. The houſes then ſpared here were in exiſtence down to Oct. 1809.

In the following year the fair was reſumed, and probably was of ſome ſervice to the City in bringing people and money to it again. Pepys "the immortal" records under date 28th Aug. "went twice round Bartholomew Fair, which I was glad to ſee again, after two years miſſing of it by the plague." It ſeems patent that Court people and ladies of all qualities were at home in the fair at this period. Pepys records how he took his wife in 1668 "and there did ſee a ridiculous obſcene little ſtage play called 'Marry Audrey,' a fooliſh thing, but ſeen by everybody; and ſo to Jacob Hall's dancing of the ropes—a thing worth ſeeing and mightily followed."

*Tolls.*—1671. The Corporation of London was diſſatisfied with the profits of the fair accruing from the arrangement then ſubſiſting, and referred it to the Comptroller to let the ground for the City and report the tolls to the firſt court after the fair. This was done, and appears to have been ſatisfactory, as the Corporation continued to receive the direct proceeds down to 1685, when the tolls were leaſed to the Sword-bearer for three years at a clear rental of £100 per annum. At the expiration of two years it was reported that the tolls had not amounted to more than £68; they were leaſed to

the Sword-bearer at this rental for twenty-one years.

1674. In "Poor Robin's Almanack" for this year, in a catalogue of jeſts upon the purpoſes or features of fairs, is the following "Aug. 24 Smithfield for Jack puddings, pigs heads, and Bartholomew Babies."

1678. The "Irregularities and Diſorders" of this fair were brought under the notice of the civil authorities; and the queſtion was referred to a Committee "to conſider how the ſame might be prevented, and what damages would occur to the City by laying down the ſame." This is the firſt hint of ſuppreſſion by the City; "and its ariſing," ſays Mr. Morley, "is *almoſt ſimultaneous with the decay of the great annual gathering as a neceſſary ſeat of trade.*" He adds, "There is no year in which it can be diſtinctly ſaid that then the Cloth Fair died. Even at this hour, when the fair itſelf is extinct, there are in the ſtreet called Cloth Fair, on the ſite of the old mart, one or two conſiderable ſhops of Cloth-merchants, who ſeem there to have buried themſelves out of ſight, and to be feeding upon the traditions of the fair."

*Cloth Trade.*—It is in connection with the woollen cloth trade that Bartholomew Fair moſt linked itſelf with commerce. It was not ſimply the great metropolitan cloth fair, but it was the greateſt fair for woollen cloths held in England. For centuries wool had been the great ſtaple of this country. Kings had taken its regulation under their own particular charge. The higheſt official in the land took his

ſeat amongſt the peers of the realm literally on a ſack of wool. Cloth ranked firſt amongſt the products of the nation's induſtry. Among the fairs of the world Engliſh woollen cloth was an important article of commerce. The centre of this trade for ſeveral centuries was located in this particular fair. Other fairs had other ſpecialities. But St. Bartholomew's was the annual trade gathering of Engliſh clothiers and London drapers. The arms of the Merchant Tailors were engraved upon a ſilver yard —thirty-ſix inches in length and thirty-ſix ounces in weight,—with which century after century members of their body were deputed to attend at Weſt Smithfield during the fair, and teſt the meaſures of the clothiers and drapers (ſee 1609). The "Hand and Shears" was a famous hoſtelry within the Cloſe, where the cloth-merchants and the tailors fraternized. And here, too, the Court of Piepowder was long held when removed from the Abbey.

It remains to be ſtated in connection with the events of this year that there was a very grave queſtion involved as to whether the City had any legal right to ſuppreſs the fair. The Cattle Fair was ſtill very conſiderable (ſee 1715).

1682. There was publiſhed a new edition of "Wit and Drollery: Jovial Poems" (1682); there is contained the following epitome of the features of the fair (not contained in the edition of 1656):—

"Here's that will challenge all the fair,
Come buy my nuts and damſons and Burgamy pears!

Here's the Woman of Babylon, the Devil and the Pope,
And here's the little Girl juſt going on the Rope!
Here's *Dives and Lazarus* and the *World's Creation*,
Here's the *Tall Dutch Woman*, the like's not in the nation.
Here is the Booths where the high Dutch maid is,
Here are the Bears that dance like any Ladies;
Tat, tat, tat, tat, ſays little penny Trumpet;
Here's Jacob Hall, that does ſo jump it, jump it;
Sound Trumpet, ſound, for ſilver ſpoon and fork,
Come, here's your dainty Pig and Pork."

It had in fact come to this—as Sir Robert Southwell truly ſaid in a letter to his ſon in 1685: "The main importance of this fair is not ſo much for merchandiſe, and the ſupplying what people really want; but as a ſort of Bacchanalia, to gratify the multitude in their wandering and irregular thoughts."

1688. It had become a cuſtom for the Lord Mayor after proclaiming the fair to call upon the keeper of Newgate, whoſe ſervices were uſually involved during the fair, and partake of "a cool tankard of wine, nutmeg, and ſugar." This year Sir John Shorter—natural grandfather of Horace Walpole, and of his couſins the Conway Seymours—followed the uſual courſe, but let the lid of the tankard flop down with ſo much force that his horſe ſtarted; he was thrown to the ground, and died the next day. The practice was diſcontinued during the ſecond mayoralty of Sir Matthew Wood.

In "The Lady's New Year's Gift; or, Advice to a Daughter," publiſhed this year, it is obſerved: "Some women are for merry-meetings, as Beſſus was for Duels; they are ingaged in a Circle of

Idleneſs, where they run round for the whole year, without the interruption of a ſerious hour; they know all the Players names & are Intimately acquainted with all the Booths in Bartholomew Fair."

1690. Literature ſtill continued to be aſſociated with the fair. Thus there was publiſhed this year: "The City Revels, or the Humours of Bartholomew Fair," by J. G. Gent. Sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, and by moſt Bookſellers. Price ſtitcht 6*d.*—not a ſingle copy of which is now known to exiſt. There was alſo publiſhed about this date "Roger in Amaze: Or the Countrymans Ramble through Bartholomew Fair. To the tune of: The Dutch Womans Jigg. Printed by and for A. M. and ſold by J. Walter," &c. A ſheet containing eight ſix-line ſtanzas. (Library of H. Huth, Eſq.)

1691. There was a ſtrong feeling ſetting in at this period againſt the fair. The Corporation ordered a return to the original term of three days, not only as a check to vice, but in order that the pleaſures of the fair might not choke up the avenues of traffic. It is clear that this was not effective, for the order was repeated three years later. See 1711.

1697. The Lord Mayor iſſued an Ordinance "for the ſuppreſſion of vicious practices in Bartholomew fair, as obſcene, laſcivious and ſcandalous plays, comedies, and farces, unlawful games and interludes, drunkenneſs, &c., ſtrictly charging all conſtables and other officers to uſe the utmoſt diligence

in proſecuting the ſame." *Vide* "Poſtman" of this date.

Political alluſions were very freely made in the amuſements of the Fair; and ſometimes theſe brought ſpeedy retaliation. Thus, in the preſent year William Philips, a Zany or Jack Pudding, was arreſted and publicly whipped for perpetrating in the fair a jeſt on the repreſſive tendencies of the Government, which the poet Prior has condenſed and preſerved for us. The ſaid clown made his appearance on the exterior ſtage of the ſhow with a tongue in his left hand, and a black pudding in his right. Profeſſing to have learned an important ſecret, by which he hoped to profit, he communicated it to the mountebank, in words recorded by Prior thus:—

> Be of your patron's mind whate'er he ſays;
> Sleep very much, think little, and talk leſs:
> Mind neither good nor bad, nor right nor wrong;
> But eat your pudding, ſlave, and hold your tongue.

This ſame W. Philips is ſuſpected to have an important hiſtory of his own—indeed, to have been ſomething beſides a clown. He is believed to have been the author of the "Revengeful Queen," publiſhed in 1698; alſo of "Alcamenes and Menelippa," and of a farce called "Britons, Strike Home," which was acted in a booth in Bartholomew Fair. Relating to him is alſo ſuppoſed to have been a book publiſhed in 1688, of which nothing but the title-page is now known to exiſt. This is preſerved in the Harleian collection, viz., "The Comical Hiſtory of the famous Merry Andrew, W. Phill., Giving an

account of his Pleaſant Humours, Various Adventures, Cheats, Frolicks, and Cunning Deſigns, both in City and Country." A copy of this would now command a large price.

Another of the great ſhow characters of this period was Joſeph Clark, the "Poſturer." He is the "whimſical fellow" mentioned by Addiſon in the "Guardian," No. 102. He was the ſon of a diſtiller in Shoe Lane, and was intended for the medical profeſſion. This did not ſuit his views, nor did the trade of a mercer, to which he was next put. He probably became buffoon in the Court of the Duke of Buckingham. Finally he appeared in the Fair. His performance chiefly conſiſted in the imitation of every kind of human deformity; and he is ſaid to have impoſed ſo completely upon Molins, the famous ſurgeon, as to be diſmiſſed by him as an incurable cripple! There is a notice of him in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions," where it is related that he "had ſuch an abſolute command of all his muſcles and joints that he could disjoint almoſt his whole body." A portrait in Tempeſt's collection repreſents him in the act of ſhouldering his leg, an antic which is imitated by a monkey. Froſt's "Old Showman," p. 59.

1698. A Frenchman, Monſieur Sorbière, viſiting London, ſays: "I was at Bartholomew Fair. It conſiſts of moſt Toy Shops, alſo Fiance, and Picture, Ribbon Shops, no Books; many ſhops of Confectioners, where any woman may commodiouſly be treated. Knavery is here in perfection, dexterous Cut-purſes and Pickpockets. I went to ſee the

Dancing on the Ropes, which was admirable. Coming out, I met a man that would have took off my hat, but I ſecured it, and was going to draw my ſword, crying out 'Begar! Damn'd Rogue! Morbleu,' &c., when on a ſudden I heard a hundred People about me, crying, 'Here Monſieur, ſee "Jephthah's Raſh Vow."' 'Here, Monſieur, ſee "The Tall Dutchwoman."' 'See "The Tiger,"' ſays another. 'See "The Horſe and No Horſe," whoſe tail ſtands where his head ſhould do.' 'See the "German Artiſt," Monſieur.' 'See the "Siege of Namur," Monſieur;' ſo that betwixt Rudeneſs and Civility I was forc'd to get into a fiacre, and with an air of haſte and a full trot, got home to my lodgings."

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

### 1700.

*STAGE Plays and Interludes.*—The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen reſolved that no booths ſhould be permitted to be erected in Smithfield this year; but on the 6th Auguſt it was announced that "the leſſees of Weſt Smithfield having on Friday laſt repreſented to the Court of Aldermen at Guildhall that it would be highly injurious to them to have the erection of all booths there totally prohibited, the Right Hon. Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen have, in conſideration of the premiſes, granted licence to erect ſome booths during the time of Bartholomew Fair now approaching: but none are permitted for muſic-booths, or any that may be means to promote debauchery." And on the 23rd, when the Lord Mayor went on horſeback to proclaim the Fair, he ordered two muſic-booths to be taken down immediately.

1701. On the 4th June this year the Grand Jury

of Middleſex made a preſentment to the following effect:—

"Whereas we have ſeen a printed order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen the 25th June 1700, to prevent the great profaneneſs, vice, and debauchery, ſo frequently uſed and practiſed in Bartholomew Fair, by ſtrictly charging and commanding all perſons concerned in the ſaid fair, and in the ſheds and booths to be erected and built therein or places adjacent, that they do not let, ſell, or hire, or uſe any booth, ſhed, ſtall, or other erection whatſoever to be uſed or employed for interludes, ſtage-plays, comedies, gaming-places, lotteries, or muſic meetings: and as we are informed the preſent Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen have paſſed another order to the ſame effect on the 3rd inſtant; we take this occaſion to return our moſt hearty thanks for their religious care and great zeal in this matter; we eſteeming a renewal of their former practices at the Fair a continuing one of the chiefeſt miſeries of vice next to the Play-Houſes; therefore earneſtly deſire that the ſaid orders may be vigorouſly proſecuted, and that this honourable Court would endeavor that the ſaid fair may be employed to thoſe good ends and purpoſes it was at firſt deſigned."

In the "Poſtman," of September, appeared the following advertiſement: "The tiger in Bartholomew Fair, that yeſterday gave ſuch ſatisfaction to perſons of all qualities by pulling the feathers ſo nicely from live fowls, will, at the requeſt of ſeveral perſons, do the ſame thing this day; price, 6*d.* each."

There was publiſhed this year for R. Hine near the Royal Exchange, "A Walk to Smithfield, or a True Deſcription of the Humours of Bartholomew Fair, with the very comical Intrigues and Frolics that are acted in every particular Booth in the Fair, by perſons of all ages and ſexes, from the Court Gallant to the Country Clown. With the Old Droll-Players' Lamentation for the loſs of their Yearly Revenues: being very Pleaſing and Diverting."

It ſeems that at this period the principal London theatres cloſed during the fair. This was so with Drury Lane in 1702; and alſo with ſeveral of the theatres during May Fair. See 1714.

1703. In the "Obſervator" of Auguſt 21 this year was the following:

Does this market of lewdneſs tend to anything elſe but the ruin of the bodies, and ſouls and eſtates, of the young men and women of the City of London, who here meet with all the temptations to deſtruction? The Lotteries, to ruin their eſtates; the drolls, comedies, interludes, and farces to poiſon their minds, &c.; and in the cloiſters what ſtrange medley of lewdneſs has not that place long ſince afforded? Lords and ladies, aldermen and their wives, 'ſquires and fiddlers, citizens and rope-dancers, jack-puddings and lawyers, miſtreſſes and maids, maſters and 'prentices! This is not an ark, like Noah's which received the clean and the unclean; only the unclean beaſts enter this ark, and ſuch as have the devil's livery on their backs!

1707. This year a well-known theatrical mana-

gereſs, Mrs. Mynn, produced a new verſion of the "Siege of Troy," reduced from five to three acts, by the aged actor, Settle. The piece was printed with the following introduction:—

*A Printed Publication of an* Entertainment *performed on a* Smithfield Stage, *which, how gay or richly ſoever ſet off, will hardly reach to a higher* Title *than the cuſtomary name of a* DROLL, *may ſeem ſomewhat new. But as the preſent undertaking, the work of ten Months' preparation, is ſo extraordinary a performance, that without Boaſt or Vanity we may modeſtly ſay,* In *the whole* ſeveral Scenes, Movements, *and* Machines, it is noways *Inferiour even to any one* Opera *yet ſeen in either of the* Royal Theatres; *we are therefore under ſome ſort of neceſſity* to *make this Publication, thereby to give ev'n the meaneſt of our audience a full Light into all the Object they will there meet in this* expenſive Entertainment; *the* proprietors *of which have adventur'd to make, under ſmall Hopes, That as they yearly ſee ſome of their happier Bretheren Undertakers in the* FAIR, *more cheaply obtain even the Engroſt Smiles of the Gentry* and *Quality at ſo much an eaſier Price; ſo on the other ſide their own more coſtly Projection (though leſs Favourites) might poſſibly attain to that good Fortune, at leaſt to attract a little ſhare of the good graces of the more Honourable part of the Audience, and perhaps be able to purchaſe ſome of thoſe ſmiles which elſewhere have been thus long the profuſer Donation of particular Affection of Favour.*

There was alſo publiſhed "The Cloyſter in Bartholomew Fair; or, The Town-Miſtreſs Diſguiſ'd."

London, Printed for A. Bancks, near Fleet Street. A Poem. 8vo. 8 leaves.

*Limiting the Duration of the Fair.*—1708. On the 2nd June this year the Court of Common Council paſſed the following reſolution:—

This Court taking notice that the Fair of St. Bartholomew according to the original Grant thereof, ought to be holden annually three days and no longer. And that by Continuing the ſaid Fair to Fourteen days, as of late hath been practiſed, and the erecting and ſetting up Booths in Smithfield of extraordinary largeneſs not occupied by dealers in Goods, merchandiſes, &c., proper for a fair; but uſed chiefly for Stage-plays, Muſick and Tipling (being ſo many receptacles of vicious and diſorderly Perſons) Lewdneſs and Debauchery have apparently increaſed, Tumults and Diſorders frequently ariſen, and the Traffick of the ſaid Fair, by the Traders and Fair-keepers reſorting thereto, greatly interrupted and diminiſhed. After long debate, and ſerious conſideration had of the ſame, and being deſirous to put a Stop (ſo far as in them lies) to the further ſpreading of Wickedneſs and Vice, to preſerve the Peace of Her Majeſty's Subjects, and reſtore the ſaid Fair to its primitive Inſtitution, and the Traders reſorting thither to the full enjoyment of their Trades, without any hindrance or obſtruction. And this Court being of opinion, that no ways will be ſo effectual for the end aforeſaid as reducing the ſaid Fair to its ancient time of continuance, doth unanimouſly reſolve, and ſo Order that for the future, the ſaid Fair ſhall be kept Three days only,

and no longer (that is to ſay) on the Eve of St. Bartholomew, that Day and the Morrow after being the 23rd, 24th and 25 days of Auguſt, of which all perſons concerned are to take Notice and Govern themſelves accordingly. See 1750.

On the 3rd July, ſame year, the Common Council conſidered certain ſtrong petitions for the revocation of this Order. The reſult is ſeen in the following announcement, which appeared in the "Gazette" of 2nd Auguſt:—

The Committee for letting the City's Land in the Account of the Chamberlain of the City of London give notice, That the Fair, commonly call'd Bartholomew Fair, annually held in Weſt Smithfield in London is from henceforth to be held three Days and no longer [days ſpecified] and that the ſaid Committee will ſit every Wedneſday at three of the Clock in the afternoon, to Lett and Diſpoſe of the Ground in Weſt Smithfield, to perſons reſorting to the ſaid Fair; of which more particular information may be had at the Comptroler's Office in the Guildhall of the ſaid City.

Same year a perſon did penance in the Chapter Houſe of St. Paul's for publicly ſhowing in the Fair a Blow-Book in which were many filthy and obſcene pictures. The book was likewiſe burned, and the offender paid the coſts.

The firſt travelling *menagerie* ſeems now to have appeared in this fair, and attracted conſiderable attention. It ſtood near the hoſpital gate. "Sir Hans Sloane cannot be ſuppoſed to have miſſed ſuch an opportunity of ſtudying animals little known, as he

is ſaid to have conſtantly viſited the fair for that purpoſe, and to have retained the ſervices of a draughtſman for their repreſentation." (Froſt.)

It may be noted that wild beaſts had been kept at the Tower certainly from 1253 downwards.

1709. There was publiſhed "Bart'lemy Fair: or an Enquiry after Wit; in which due Reſpect is had to a Letter concerning Enthuſiaſm, To my Lord * * *. By Mr. Wotton. London Printed for R. Wilkin, at the King's Head in St. Paul's Church-Yard." This 8vo. pamphlet of 175 pages contains no reference to the fair, and probably only took its title from reference to the diſputations there conducted, and of which I have ſpoken.

1710. There was a curious half-ſheet octavo tract, printed this year, entitled "The Wonders of England, containing Dogget and Penkethman's Dialogue with Old Nick, on the ſuppreſſion of Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield." The title enumerates ſeveral other ſtrange and wonderful matters, as being contained in the book, but, like the ſhowman's painted cloths in the fair, pictures monſters not viſible within; ſo there is not a line in the tract reſpecting the ſuppreſſion of the fair. Yet

"Coming events caſt their ſhadows before."

1711. It ſeems probable that in 1691, or 1694, when the Corporation took ſteps to limit the period of the fair, that a printed ſtatement of the reaſons therefor was iſſued for the edification of the public mind. At all events during the preſent year there appeared: "Reaſons Formerly publiſhed for the

Punctual Limiting of Bartholomew Fair to thoſe Three Days to which it is determined by the Royal Grant of it to the City of London. New reprinted with Additions, to prevent a Deſign ſet on Foot to procure an Eſtabliſhment of the ſaid Fair for Fourteen Days. Humbly Addreſſed to the preſent Right Honorable the Lord Mayor to the Worſhipful Court of Aldermen, and to the Common Council of the ſaid City. London Printed in the year 1711."

1714. It had become the cuſtom for the ſtars of Drury Lane, Covent Garden, the Haymarket, Lincoln's Fields, and Goodman's Fields theatres to enter into engagements to act in the theatrical booths in Smithfield, and probably alſo in Southwark; and a rich "benefit" they made, ſometimes by acting, but more generally by becoming partners in a company organized for the purpoſes of the fair. Recruits were brought up from the provincial theatres, and thus became familiar to London audiences.

1715. In "Dawk's News Letter" it is recorded, "On Wedneſday Bartholomew Fair began, to which we hear the greateſt number of black cattle (Welſh ?) was brought that was ever known." There was this year at the fair the largeſt booth ever built—it was for the King's players! It had become the cuſtom to repreſent all the great ſieges in which England had been concerned at the ſhows in the fair: hence, perhaps, ſomething was done towards foſtering a martial ſpirit, not without its advantages in a national ſenſe.

1719. The reſtriction of the fair to three days, we are informed, had long been overruled by the public voice. There were this year twenty licenſed dice and hazard tables in the fair.

1730. There was printed in the "Daily Poſt" for the 31ſt Auguſt the following :—

"Theſe are to give notice to all Ladies, Gentlemen and others That, at the end of Hoſier Lane in Smithfield are to be ſeen during the time of the Fair, Two *Rattle Snakes*, one a very large ſize, and rattles that you may hear him at a quarter of a mile about, and ſomething of Muſick, that grows on the tails thereof; of divers colours, forms and ſhapes, with darts that they extend out of their mouths, almoſt two inches long. They were taken on the mountains of Leamea. A Fine Creature, of a ſmall ſize, taken in Mocha, that burrows under ground. It is of divers colours, and very beautiful. The teeth of a dead Rattle Snake to be ſeen and handled, with the rattles. A Sea Snail, taken on the coaſt of India. Alſo the horn of a Flying Buck. Together with a curious collection of Animals and of Inſects from all parts of the World. To be ſeen without Loſs of time."

This ſeems to have been a very rude attempt at teaching natural hiſtory.

1731. The only recorded inſtance of *fire* breaking out in the fair occurred this year. The damage reſulting was ſmall. (See 1810.)

1733. It was about this date that Fielding the noveliſt commenced public life, by keeping a play-booth in this fair.

*The Strolling Player.*—The life of a ſtrolling play-manager, attending fairs and ſuch like places of amuſement, was one of much incident, and certainly had its comical ſide. Here is the account of one as given by himſelf:—"I will, as we ſay, take you behind the ſcenes. Firſt then, a valuable actor muſt ſleep in the pit, and wake early to ſweep the theatre, and throw freſh ſawduſt into the boxes; he muſt ſhake out the dreſſes, and wind up and duſt the motion-jacks; he muſt teach the dull ones how to act, rout up the idlers from the ſtraw, and redeem thoſe that happen to get into the watch-houſe. Then, ſir, when the fair begins, he ſhould ſometimes walk about the ſtage grandly and ſhow his dreſs: ſometimes he ſhould dance with his fellows; ſometimes he ſhould ſing; ſometimes he ſhould blow the trumpet; ſometimes he ſhould laugh and joke with the crowd, and give them a kind of touch-and-go ſpeech, which keeps them merry and makes them come in. Then, ſir, he ſhould ſometimes cover his ſtate robe with a great coat, and go into the crowd, and ſhout oppoſite his own booth, like a ſtranger who is ſtruck with its magnificence: by the way, ſir, that is a good trick, I never knew it fail to make an audience; and then he has only to ſteal away and mount his ſtage and ſtrut, and dance and ſing and trumpet, and roar over again."—"Every-Day Book," i. 1243.

1735. The practice had been to grant licences for the fair for fourteen days. The Court of Aldermen now reſolved: That Bartholomew Fair ſhall not exceed Bartholomew Eve, Bartholomew Day,

and the next morrow, and ſhall be reſtricted to the ſale of goods, wares, and merchandiſes, uſually ſold in fairs, *and no acting ſhall be permitted therein.* It was known, too, that Sir John Barnard intended rigorouſly to enforce the Licenſing Act. There was in conſequence no theatrical booths, and hence the moſt harmleſs portion of the amuſement was abſent.

1736. Theatrical booths were permitted again this year.

1739. The fair was extended to four days, and more theatrical booths attended in conſequence.

In the "Farrago; or, Miſcellanies in Verſe and Proſe" [by Richard Barton ?], there is included (pp. 49-58) a piece entitled "Bartholomew Fair," from which we take the following :—

> Round ev'ry booth in face of day,
> Actors a tawdry dreſs diſplay;
> Their ugly viſors ſeem diſgrace,
> Yet often hide an uglier face.
> The ſun their ſports not to delay,
> Makes haſte to bed, and cloſes day.
> Each wooden houſe then groans, to bear
> The populace that crowd the fair,
> Where Wapping & St. James' unite,
> Pleaſ'd with coarſe objects of delight:
> The chambermaid and counteſs fit
> Alike admirers of the wit:
> The Earl and footman *tête-a-tête*
> Sit down contented on one ſeat.
> The muſick plays, the curtain draws,
> The peer & 'prentice clap applauſe.

1740. The Prince of Wales viſited the fair—not, indeed, for the firſt time, but with more ſtate than on any previous occaſion. An account of the viſit

was publiſhed ſome years afterwards in the "New European Magazine," from which the following details are drawn:—

The ſhows were all in full blaſt and the crowd at its thickeſt, when the multitude behind was impelled violently forward; a broad blaze of red light iſſued from a ſcore of flambeaux, ſtreamed into the air; ſeveral voices were loudly ſhouting, "Room there for Prince George! Make way for the Prince!" as there was that long ſweep heard to paſs over the ground which indicates the approach of a grand and ceremonious train. Preſently the preſſure became much greater, the voices louder, the light ſtronger, and as the train came onward, it might be ſeen that it conſiſted, firſt, of a party of the yeomen of the guard, clearing the way; then ſeveral more of them bearing flambeaux, and flanking the proceſſion; while in the midſt of it appeared a tall, fair, and handſome young man, having ſomething of a plump foreign viſage, ſeemingly about four-and-thirty, dreſſed in a ruby-coloured frock-coat, very richly guarded with gold lace, and having his long flowing hair curiouſly curled over his forehead and at the ſides, and finiſhed with a very large bag and courtly *queue* behind. The air of dignity with which he walked; the blue ribbon and ſtar and garter with which he was decorated; the ſmall three-cornered ſilk hat which he wore, whilſt all around him were uncovered; the numerous ſuite, as well of gentlemen as of guards, which marſhalled him along; the obſequious attention of a ſhort, ſtout perſon, who, by his flouriſhing manner, ſeemed to

be a player—all theſe particulars indicated that the amiable Frederick, Prince of Wales, was viſiting Bartholomew Fair by torchlight, and that Manager Rich was introducing his royal gueſt to all the entertainments of the place.

This event gave faſhion to the fair, and, indeed, it had never been conſidered derogatory for perſons in the firſt rank and faſhion to partake in the broad humour and theatrical amuſements of the place. We have already ſeen that many of the theatrical celebrities of the day "ſtarred" in Smithfield, and many who afterwards became famous firſt trod the boards here.

The theatrical licences were extended to three weeks and a month at this fair.

1750. Alderman Blackford being mayor, he proclaimed in the middle of July his determination to reduce the fair to its original three days, and to uſe the powers of the Licenſing Act (10 Geo. II.) for the more effectual puniſhment of rogues and vagabonds. He herein acted upon the repreſentation of more than a hundred of the chief graziers, ſaleſmen, and inhabitants of Smithfield, who complained that the "inſolent violation of the law" by the fair people not only encouraged profligacy, but alſo obſtructed buſineſs for ſix weeks! The time occupied in putting up and taking down the booths being a time alſo of great hindrance to the uſual Smithfield marketing and trading. The real ſuppreſſion of the fair as a fourteen day riot, dates from this time.

1751. The attempted ſtrict limitation of the fair

to three days led to conſiderable diſturbances. Birch, a deputy marſhal of the city, received injuries which proved fatal.

1752. The alteration of the calendar transferred the 3rd September into the 14th. Old Bartholomew's Day ſtood at this new date on the calendar. This event very much aided in ſhortening the period of the fair. *Vide* "Morley," p. 449.

1753. There was a great demonſtration againſt the claim of the Corporation to levy tolls upon the goods of citizens, as well as upon thoſe of ſtrangers, during the time of the fair. Richard Holland, a leather-ſeller in Newgate Street, had in the preceding year refuſed the toll demanded on a roll of leather with which he had attempted to enter the fair, and on the leather being ſeized by the collector, had called a conſtable, and charged the impounder with theft. The ſquabble reſulted in an action againſt the Corporation, which was not tried, however, until 1754, when the reſult was in favour of the citizens, and againſt the Corporation claims.

While the action was pending Holland's cart was driven through the fair with a load of hay, and was not ſtopped by the collector of tolls. The horſes' heads were decorated with ribbons, and on the leader's forehead was a card, upon which the following doggerel lines were written in a bold hand:—

> My maſter keeps me well, 'tis true,
> And juſtly pays whatever is due;
> Now plainly, not to mince the matter,
> No toll he pays but with a halter.

On each ſide of the load of hay hung a halter, and a paper bearing the following announcement:—

The time is approaching, if not already come,
That all Britiſh ſubjects may freely paſs on;
And not on pretence of Bartholomew Fair
Make you pay for your paſſage, with all your bring near.—
When once it is try'd, ever after depend on,
'Twill incur the ſame fate as on Finchley Common.
Give Cæſar his due, when by law 'tis demanded,
And thoſe that deſerve with this halter be hanged.

There was conſiderable rioting in the fair. Buck, the ſucceſſor to the unfortunate Birch, was very roughly handled. The tumult was in ſome degree allayed by a ſerious accident to the wire-walker, Evans. The wire broke, and he was precipitated to the ground, one of his thighs being broken, and other injuries ſuſtained.

*The Bridewell Boys.*—1755. An element in the occaſional diſturbances at the fair was the conduct of the "Bridewell Boys," a body of youths from the Bridewell Hoſpital, diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar dreſs and turbulence of manners. They infeſted the ſtreets and public places to the terror of the peaceable; and being allowed the privilege of going to fires with the Bridewell engine, not unfrequently occaſioned more miſchief by their audacity and perverſeneſs than by their dexterity in fire extinguiſhment, reſembling in ſome degree the volunteer fire brigades which at one time were very prevalent in the United States. On the 13th November this year, at a Court of the Governors of the Hoſpital, a memorable report was made by the Committee, who

inquired into the behaviour of the boys at the then preceding Bartholomew and Southwark fairs; and, as a conſequence, ſome of them were ſeverely corrected and cautioned, and others, after their puniſhment, were ordered to be ſtripped of their hoſpital clothing and diſcharged. At a later period the boys were deprived of their diſtinguiſhing coſtume, and a different plan of inſtruction was adopted.

1760. The Court of Common Council made a more determined effort than heretofore to put down this fair; but the intereſt of Lord Kenſington (ſucceſſor of Lord Rich) in a portion of the tolls, rendered it impoſſible of accompliſhment. See 1827.

1762. Plays were interdicted at the fair this year by the Corporation, and ſome hardſhip reſulted to thoſe who had made arrangements in advance. Strong and ſucceſsful meaſures were taken to prevent its extenſion beyond the authorized three days.

There was publiſhed "A Deſcription of Bartholomew Fair" by George Alexander Stevens, whereof the following gives a good idea of the medley life there ſeen :—

Here was, firſt of all, crowds againſt other crowds driving,
Like wind and tide meeting, each contrary striving;
Shrill fiddling, ſharp fighting, and ſhouting and ſhrieking,
Fifes, trumpets, drums, bagpipes and barrow girls ſqueaking,
"Come my rare round and ſound, here's choice of fine ware-o;"
Though all was not ſound ſold at Bartholomew fair-o.

There was drolls, hornpipe dancing, and ſhowing of poſtures,
With frying black-puddings, and op'ning of oyſters;

With Salt-boxes ſolos, and gallery-folks ſqualling;
The tap houſe gueſts roaring, and mouthpieces bawling,
Pimps, Pawnbrokers, ſtrollers, fat landladies, ſailors,
Bawds, bailiffs, jilts, jockies, thieves, tumblers and taylors.

"Here's Punch's whole play of the Gunpowder-plot, ſir,"
With "beaſts all alive," and "peaſe-porridge all hot," ſir,
"Fine ſauſages fried" and "the Black on the wire,"
"The whole Court of France" and "nice pig at the fire."
Here's the up-and-downs, "who'll take a ſeat in the Chair-o?"
Tho' there's more up-and-downs than at Bartholomew fair-o.

Here's "Whittington's cat," and "the tall dromedary,"
"The chaiſe without horſes," and "Queen of Hungary;"
Here's the Merry-go-Rounds, "Come who rides, come who rides, ſir?"
Wine, beer, ale, and cakes, fire eating beſides, ſir;
The fam'd "learn'd Dog" that can tell all his letters
And ſome men, as ſcholars, are not much his betters!

1798. There was a ſerious propoſal made to reſtrict the fair to one day. This was only abandoned from the fear of riot.

1804. There was an action brought in the fair before the Court of Piepowder on 5th September—ſhowing that the court had ſat beyond the preſcribed three days, which at one time it did not, even though the fair continued longer—by a fire-eater againſt one of the ſpectators of his tricks, who had half ſuffocated him by ſuddenly clapping a bundle of lighted matches under his noſe. The defendant was fined a guinea by the homage, and the ſteward gave charge to the conſtables to turn him out of the fair if he appeared in it again.

1808. There appeared: "The Hiſtory and Origin of Bartholomew Fair," publiſhed by Arliſs

and Huntſman, 37, Bartholomew Cloſe (8vo. pp. 26).

1810. A circumſtance occurred likely to have been attended with very ſerious conſequences. Two bands of roughs, who were racing through the fair after their manner, met. In the ſcuffle that enſued two ſtalls were knocked down, and the falling of a lamp on to a ſtove cauſed the canvas to ignite, and a ſerious diſaſter was only averted by the preſence of mind of a gentleman who was on the ſpot at the moment. In a ſimilar ruſh in 1812 a child was killed.

In the "Morning Chronicle" appeared the following "Elegy, written in Bartlemy Fair at Five o'clock in the morning," from which I take the principal ſtanzas :—

* * * * *

Now the firſt beams of morning glad the ſight,
And all the air in ſolemn ſtillneſs holds,
Save when the ſheep-dog bays with hoarſe affright,
And brutal drovers pen the unwilling folds.

* * * * *

Beneath thoſe ragged tents—that boarded ſhade,
Which late diſplay'd its ſtores in tempting heaps:
There, children, dogs, cakes, oyſters, all are laid,
There, guardian of the whole, the maſter ſleeps.

The buſy call of care-begetting morn,
The well-ſlept paſſenger's unheeding tread,
The ſhowman's clarion, or the echoing horn,
Too ſoon muſt rouſe them from their lowly bed.

Perhaps in this neglected booth is laid
Some head volcanic, oft diſcharging fire!
Hands—that the rod of magic lately ſway'd;
Toes—that ſo nimbly danced upon the wire.

Some clown, or pantaloon—the gazer's jeſt,
Here, with his train in dirty pageant ſtood:
Some tired-out poſture maſter here may reſt,
Some conjuring ſwordſman—guiltleſs of his blood!

The applauſe of liſtening cockneys to command,
The threats of City-marſhal to deſpiſe;
To give delight to all the grinning band,
And read their merit in ſpectators' eyes,

Is ſtill their boaſt; nor, haply, theirs alone,
Polito's lions (though now *dormant* laid),
The human monſters, ſhall acquire renown,
The ſpotted Negro—and the armleſs maid!

Peace to the youth, who, ſlumbering at the *Bear*,
Forgets his preſent lot, his perils paſt:
Soon will the crowd again be thronging there,
To view the man on wild Sombrero caſt.

Careful their booths from inſult to protect,
Theſe furl their tapeſtry, late erected high;
Nor longer with prodigious pictures deck'd,
They tempt the paſſing youth's aſtoniſh'd eye.

But when the day calls forth the belles and beaux,
The cunning ſhowmen each device diſplay,
And many a clown the uſeful notice ſhows,
To teach aſcending ſtrangers—*where to pay*.

Sleep on, ye imps of merriment—ſleep on!
In this ſhort reſpite to your labouring train;
And when this time of annual mirth is gone,
May ye enjoy, in peace, your hard-earned gain!

1825. Bartholomew Day falling on a Sunday the fair was wholly ſuſpended. Many thouſands of perſons walking for recreation repaired to Smithfield and viewed its appearance. The City officers

moſt ſtrictly enforced obſervance of the day: one keeper of a ginger-bread ſtall who plied for cuſtom and refractorily perſiſted was taken into cuſtody, and held in priſon till he could be carried before a magiſtrate on the following day, when he was fined for the offence.—Hone.

*Hone's Survey of the Fair.*—It was on the morning following this day that Hone made his memorable viſit to the fair, which he has recorded at large in his "Every Day Book" (i. cols. 1168-1251), and from which I take the following condenſed deſcription of the extent and nature of the exhibition:—

There were ſmall *uncovered* ſtalls from the Skinner Street corner of Giltſpur Street beginning with the beginning of the churchyard, along the whole length of the churchyard. On the oppoſite ſide there were like ſtalls from Newgate Street corner. At theſe ſtalls were ſold oyſters, fruit, inferior kinds of cheap toys, common gingerbread, ſmall wicker baſkets, and other articles of trifling value. They ſeemed to be mere caſual ſtandings taken up by petty dealers and chapmen in ſmallware, who lacked means to purchaſe room and furniſh out a tempting diſplay. Their ſtalls were ſet out from the channel into the roadway. One man occupied upwards of twenty feet of the road lengthwiſe with diſcontinued woodcut pamphlets, formerly publiſhed weekly at two pence, which he ſpread out on the ground and ſold at a halfpenny each in great quantities; he had alſo large folio bible prints at a halfpenny each, and prints from magazines at four a penny. The fronts

of theſe ſtandings were towards the paſſengers in the carriage way.

Then with occaſional diſtances of three or four feet for footways from the road to the pavement began lines of *covered* ſtalls, with their open fronts oppoſite the fronts of the houſes, and cloſe to the curb-ſtone, and their encloſed backs to the road. On the St. Sepulchre's ſide they extended to Cock Lane, and from thence to Hoſier-lane, and along the weſt ſide of Smithfield to the Cow-lane corner. In John Street they were reſumed and ran thitherward to Smithfield bars, and there on the weſt ſide ended. Croſſing over to the eaſt ſide, and returning ſouth, theſe covered ſtalls commenced oppoſite their termination on the weſt and ran towards Smithfield, turning into which they ran weſterly towards the pig-market, and from thence to Long-lane. Again on to the eaſt ſide to the great gate of Cloth Fair, and ſo from Duke Street on the ſouth ſide to the great front gate of Bartholomew hoſpital; and then reſumed to Giltſpur Street and ſo reached the uncovered ſtalls.

Theſe covered ſtalls thus ſurrounding Smithfield, belonged to dealers in gingerbread, toys, hardware, garters, pocket books, trinkets, and articles of all prices, from a halfpenny to a half ſovereign. The gingerbread ſtalls varied in ſize, and were conſpicuouſly fine from the Dutch gold on their different ſhaped ware. The uſual frontage of the ſtalls was 8, 10, 12 feet, but ſome as large as 25 feet. They were 6 feet 6 inches or 7 feet high in front and from 4 feet 6 to 5 feet at back: and all

formed of canvaſs tightly ſtretched on light poles. The fronts were to the pavements. The houſes of buſineſs in the ſtreets had their ſhutters up, and doors cloſed.

The *Shows* of all kinds had their fronts towards the area of Smithfield, and their backs cloſe againſt the backs of the ſtalls. The centre of the area was thus entirely open, and from the carriage way through it all the ſhows might be ſeen at one view. Againſt the pens at the ſide there were not any ſhows. No carriages or horſemen were permitted to enter the fair on account of the crowded maſſes of people preſent. . . .

It has to be noted that there was an unuſually large aſſemblage of ſhows at the fair, including ſeveral menageries.

1826. The "Mirror of the Months" contained the following graphic anticipation of the fair to be held this year:—

Another year arrives, and ſpite of Corporation "reſolutions," and references to "the Committee," and "Reports" and "recommendations" to aboliſh the fair, it is held again. Now arrives that ſaturnalia of nondeſcript noiſe and nonconformity "Bartlemy Fair;" when that prince of peace-officers the Lord Mayor changes his ſword of ſtate into a fix-penny trumpet, and becomes the lord of miſrule and the patron of pick-pockets; and lady Holland's name leads an unlettered mob inſtead of a lettered one; when Richardſon maintains, during three whole days and a half, a managerial ſupremacy that muſt be not a little enviable even in the eyes of Mr.

Elliſton himſelf; and Mr. Gyngell holds, during the ſame period, a ſcarcely leſs diſtinguiſhed ſtation as the Apollo of maid ſervants; when the incomparable (not to ſay *eternal*) *young* Maſter Saunder's rides on horſeback to the admiration of all beholders, in the perſon of his eldeſt ſon; and when all the giants in the land, and the dwarfs too, make a general muſter, and each proves to be according to the moſt correct meaſurement at leaſt a foot taller, or ſhorter, than any other in the fair, and in fact the only one worth ſeeing,—"all the reſt being impoſtors!" In ſhort, when every booth in the fair combined in itſelf the attractions of all the reſt, and ſo perplexes with its irreſiſtible merit the rapt imagination of the half-holiday ſchool boys who have got but ſixpence to ſpend upon the whole, that they eye the outſides of each in a ſtate of pleaſing deſpair, till their leave of abſence is expired twice over, and then return home filled with viſions of giants and gingerbread nuts, and dream all night long of what they have not ſeen.

The fair was ſmall, and one of its principal features was the bookſtalls, which occupied the whole of the weſt ſide of Giltſpur Street.

1827. The fair was again large, and for the firſt time I am enabled to preſent a return of the caſh returns of the various places of amuſement there aſſembled. The reſult will be ſtartling to thoſe who have hitherto failed to realize the importance with which the fair was regarded: Wombwell's menagerie, £1,700; Richardſon's theatre, £1,200; Atkins's menagerie, £1,000; Morgan's menagerie,

£150; exhibition of "pig-faced lady," £150; ditto, fat boy and girl, £140; ditto, head of William Corder, quaker, who was hanged at Chelmsford for murder of Maria Martin—the crime being revealed through a dream of the victim's mother, £100; Ballard's menagerie, £90; Ball's theatre, £80; diorama of the battle of Navarino, £60; the Chineſe jugglers, £50; Pike's theatre, £40; a fire-eater, £30; Frazer's theatre, £26; Keyes and Line's theatre, £20; exhibition of a Scotch giant, £20. The comparative attractiveneſs of the different ſights affords room for reflection. Of courſe theſe entertainments only repreſent a portion of the caſh tranſactions of the fair.

Lord Kenſington at length intimated that conſidering the corrupt ſtate of the fair, and the nuiſance cauſed by it in the neighbourhood of Smithfield, he would now throw no obſtacle in the way of its abolition. His ſhare of the tolls was from £30 to £40 a year; the eſtimated value of theſe was from £500 to £600. The Corporation accordingly bought up theſe tolls, and henceforward the ſole rights and intereſt in the fair became veſted in the City.

*The End.*—1839. The London City Miſſion, having pointed out to the Corporation the moral pollution ſpread by the retention of the fair, the matter was again referred to the City Lands Committee, who referred the queſtion to Mr. Charles Pearſon the then able City Solicitor; and he ſpeedily diſcovered a rational mode of dealing with it: he adviſed *an abſolute refuſal to let ſtandings for ſhow-*

*booths in a fair that was created in the firſt inſtance for the purpoſes of trade!*

The Markets Committee had in the meanwhile been working in the direction of largely increaſing the tolls for ſtalls, &c. The effect being that in 1836 they had increaſed to £162, 1838 to £284; this year £305. The ſmaller the number of booths the more each ſeemed able to pay, ſhowing that the popular patronage of the fair was ſtill conſiderable.

*New Bartholomew Fair.*—In 1843 the City authorities prohibited the aſſembling of "ſhows" of any and all kinds in Smithfield; but with this prohibition was the announcement that arrangements had been made for the ſtanding of ſuch ſhows as deſired on a large piece of ground adjoining the New North Road, called Britannia Fields, near the ſite of the Britannia Theatre, in the pariſh of Hoxton.

In this ſtep it may have been thought to preſerve the income from tolls by a bodily transfer of the fair to another locality. I doubt if the original Charter would have ſupported ſuch a courſe; but the influence of the City would have obtained the authority of Parliament for the change. But even Parliament cannot change the ſentiments of the people in regard to their amuſements, or divert the channels of commerce from the time-honoured channels in which they have been wont to flow; and the project for the new Bartholomew Fair fell dead very early in its inception; but for two or three years ſhows did congregate there.

1855. *The end had come!* The old ceremony of ſtate proclamation had been diſcontinued in 1840. In 1850 the Lord Mayor (Muſgrove) having walked quietly to the appointed gateway with the neceſſary attendants, found there was no fair to proclaim! After that year the Lord Mayor attended no more for the purpoſe. The laſt Bartholomew Fair was proclaimed this year (1855). The City indeed ſtill pays to the Rector of Bartholomew the Great the annual fee of 3*s.* 6*d.* in reſpect of the proclamation no longer made. The live Cattle Market was diſcontinued the ſame year—removed to Iſlington. The Meat Market opened in 1868 has obliterated all traces of a ſtate of things which had continued for ſeven centuries.

1859. Mr. Henry Morley publiſhed "Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair," "inſcribed with friendſhip to his friend John Forſter." In his preface he ſays "When I firſt reſolved upon the writing theſe memoirs, I knew ſimply that Bartholomew fair was an unwritten portion of the ſtory of the people. Bound once to the life of the nation by the three ties of Religion, Trade and Pleaſure, firſt came a time when the tie of Religion was unlooſened from it; then it was a place of Trade and Pleaſure. A few more generations having lived and worked, Trade was no longer bound to it. The nation ſtill grew, and at laſt broke from it even as a pleaſure fair. *It lived for ſeven centuries* or more, and of its death we are the witneſſes. Surely, methought, there is a ſtory here; the memoirs of a Fair do not mean only a bundle of handbills or a catalogue of

monſters. And then the volume was planned which is now offered to the reader, with a lively ſenſe of its ſhortcomings." Thus launched upon the world it was and is a book ſuited to the companionſhip of all lovers of objects of antiquity. I am glad to have been able to ſupplement its record with ſome details of intereſt.

# FAIRS OF FRANCE.

## CHAPTER XIX.

IT is to France that we muſt look if we would fully comprehend alike the ſplendour and importance of the fairs of Europe. Even here, as elſewhere, they are now to be regarded as things of the paſt; but of a paſt that is full of inſtruction.

In the eighth and ninth centuries hardly any trade was known in France, other than that carried on in markets and fairs; theſe were, therefore, almoſt the only places for providing oneſelf with neceſſaries. Artificers and dealers lived apart, diſperſed in the country; the towns were chiefly inhabited by the clergy and ſome handicraftsmen, with few or no monks or nuns, the far greater part of the monaſteries being either in the open country or the neighbourhood of the cities. The nobility lived on their eſtates, or attended the Court. The *Pote* people were ſo far under their Lord's power as not to quit the place of their birth without his leave; the villain was annexed to the eſtate, and

the ſlave to the maſter's houſe or land. Such a diſperſion was little promotive of trade, which loves large and policed communities; *and it was to remedy this inconvenience that its Kings eſtabliſhed ſo many fairs. Vide* "Extracts translated from New Hiſt. of France," 1769, i. 65.

There ſeem to have been three grades of fairs. —1. *Free fairs*, to which all might come without reſtriction of toll or other limitation. 2. Fairs having their franchiſes reſtricted by ſome local right or uſage. 3. Common fairs, without any ſpecial franchiſes whatever. I ſhall mainly confine myſelf to a notice of thoſe falling under the firſt of theſe definitions—free fairs.

## Champagne and Brie.

I may ſpeak of the fairs of theſe provinces collectively. They were not only amongſt the moſt celebrated of France or of Europe, but poſſeſs the charm of great antiquity. They are believed to have been founded by the earls of thoſe provinces. Sidonius Apollinaris alludes to them, A.D. 427. They were held in ſeventeen of the chief cities—ſome of which had as many as ſix yearly, others four, none leſs than two.

I have already given (in the firſt chapter in this book) ſome account of the commercial importance of theſe fairs in Europe, and need not re-traverſe that ground. They have a great intereſt from an Engliſh point of view for reaſons which will preſently appear.

Theſe diſtricts were not indeed provinces of France at the early date above named. They only became ſo in 1284, and ſo far from their fairs gaining any additional luſtre by the annexation, the very reverſe appears to have been the fact. The domination of the crown of France ſpread awe inſtead of confidence into the minds of their wealthy traders!

The truth I ſuſpect to be that charges and reſtrictions previouſly unknown were impoſed. This view indeed finds direct ſupport in the fact that in 1349 Philip de Valois granted letters patent confirming ancient franchiſes, and ſuppreſſing the new impoſitions. By means of this document we learn preciſely what the ancient privileges were. The patent conſiſted of thirty-ſix articles, but the more material may be grouped under five heads, viz.:

1. *The Franchiſes.*—All foreign dealers their factors and agents to have free liberty under the Royal protection, to reſort to theſe fairs with their goods, provided however that theſe ſame goods were deſigned to be ſold or exchanged there; or failing this were to be removed within the appointed time for the duration of the fair. They were exempted from all dues, impoſitions, &c., according to the good and ancient uſages, cuſtoms, and liberties of the ſaid fairs. No favours or letters of reſpite might be granted againſt the ſaid dealers, or the cuſtoms and liberties of the ſaid fairs—all ſuch, if obtained, being null. No dealers reſorting to or returning from, ſhould be ſtopped or moleſted, without ſpecial warrant from the wardens of the

conſervation, and for obligations made truly and really in the fair.

2. *Wardens of the Privileges.*—Theſe were judges appointed during the fair, to ſee that the franchiſes were preſerved, and to take cognizance of conteſts that might ariſe between traders there. Every fair was to have two wardens, one chancellor to keep the ſeal, two lieutenants, forty notaries, and 100 ſerjeants. The wardens and chancellors were ſworn in the Chamber of Accounts, Paris, *where they were yearly to make their report of the ſtate of the fairs.* No judgment might be given during the fair but by the two wardens, or when one was unavoidably abſent, by one warden and the chancellor.

3. *How goods were to be brought within the franchiſe.*—The drapers and traders of the ſeventeen cities of Champagne and Brie frequenting the fairs —that is to ſay thoſe of the cities in which one of theſe ſeventeen fairs was held—might not ſell their cloths or other ſtuffs, wholeſale or retail, within or without the kingdom, *unleſs firſt ſent to one of the fairs and expoſed for ſale from the firſt day appointed for the ſale of cloth until the ſixth following*, on pain of forfeiture; they being, however, at liberty to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſed, if not ſold in that time.

Farmers, curriers, &c., muſt bring their leather to the fair, and expoſe it all together from the firſt of the three days, without reſerving any for the laſt days, *or ſelling in any other place than that deſigned for the ſale of leather.*

Horſe-dealers, both ſubjects and foreigners, muſt

have their ſtables in the ſaid fairs from the third day of the cloths (*i.e.* fixed for the ſale of cloth) until the fair ended.

In like manner all other wares brought into the fair were to remain on ſale, ſome for ſix days, others for three days only, according to their nature and quality.

4. *Inſpections.*—Theſe were of two kinds, one by the wardens conſervators, and the other by examiners choſen out of the trading companies frequenting the fair. The wardens' inſpection was at the opening of every fair, to ſee that the dealers had all ſuitable convenience and ſecurity—the inſpectors being properly qualified judges of the character of the goods brought, with authority to ſtop and ſeize all that were of inferior quality; but this not without appeal to ſix, five, or four perſons experienced in the particular trade.

5. *Payments, Bonds, and Exchanges.*—All tradeſmen, alike French and foreigners, might agree in their contracts for payment of goods ſold in the fair—to be paid in gold and ſilver current at the time of making the contract, notwithſtanding any ordinance concerning money to the contrary. Intereſt for loans, and goods ſold on credit at fairs, might not exceed fifteen per cent. The intereſt might not be added to the principal in renewing bonds made at fairs. Nor might bonds made at any other time run in the ſtyle of thoſe uſed at fairs, as if made there.

All letters, acts, contracts, &c., relating to fairs, to be null *unleſs under the authenticated ſeal of the*

*fairs.* None unleſs he had actual reſidence in fairs might uſe the ſeal or other obligations, or enjoy the privileges thereof.

The re-eſtabliſhment of theſe privileges—many of which were obviouſly made in the intereſt of merchants attending to buy—had the effect of reſtoring the fairs of theſe provinces to their former greatneſs. Again multitudes of traders came from Germany, Italy (particularly from Florence), Lucca, Venice, and Genoa, with gold, ſilver, and ſilk ſtuffs, ſpices and other goods of their country, or of the Levant, taking in exchange cloths, leather and other commodities, not only the produce of the provinces, but brought from other parts of France.

I ſpeak of the fair of *Troyes* ſeparately hereafter, on account of one of its diſtinguiſhing features.

Mr. Morley has pointed out that before the eſtabliſhment of free fairs in France, the rights of *ſalutaticum*, *pontaticum*, *repaticum*, and *portulaticum*, abſorbed one half of a foreign merchant's goods upon their firſt arrival and debarkation. Afterwards traders came exempt not only from imperial taxation, but from many of the ordinary riſks of travel.

One great element of intereſt in theſe fairs centres in the circumſtance of the following correſpondence between the Wardens of the fair and the Lord Mayor of London concerning dealings in theſe fairs in the thirteenth century. They have been carefully preſerved amongſt the records of the City for ſix centuries—and now for the firſt time gain the glory of printer's ink. They reveal a feature in

the comity of nations; and preſent a proof of the coſmopolitan intereſts of commerce which can ſcarcely be excelled. Hence I propoſe to give them entire:

1. *Letter directed to the Mayor by the Keepers of the Fairs of Champagne and Brie, dated September* 1299.

To the venerable man, the provident, wiſe and diſcreet Warden of London, or to his vicegerent, Peter de Fremeville, knight, and Robert de Champagne (*de Campaniis*), keepers of the fairs of Champagne and Brie for our moſt illuſtrious Lord the King of the French, increaſe of all good with greeting and ſincere affection. Whereas heretofore, by our letters patent ſealed with the ſeal of the fairs of Champagne, we have entreated you to compel, or cauſe to be compelled, the burgeſs Fauberti, a citizen of Florence and horſe-dealer (*mercatorem equorum*), together with Guido Fauberti, Nutus (or Nuto) Fauberti, brothers of the ſaid burgeſs, Maſter Gerald de Galaiòn phyſician, [and] James ſon of the ſaid Nutus, aſſociates of the ſaid burgeſs, by the ſale of their goods and the ſeizure of their bodies, ſending them back to us, to yield and pay to Pucheus de Pré (*de Prato*), formerly horſe-dealer in the ſaid fairs, Martin de Burgo novo, brother of John de Burgo now deceaſed formerly horſe-dealer, and John de Burgo novo, nephew of the ſaid John deceaſed and of Martin aforeſaid, or to the bearer of our ſaid letters for them, one thouſand ſix hun-

dred petits livres Tournois with ſufficient damages and expenſes; and to ſatisfy us concerning the ſaid King's amends for default of the fairs. In which ſum of money they are held effectually bounden, and every of them in the whole, for the body of the fairs of Bani (*Bari*) *ſuper Albam* from the year of Our Lord 1292, as well by reaſon and becauſe of certain pledges made and committed in and upon the body of the ſaid fairs, as by reaſon and becauſe of the reſtitution of more ſureties and more coſts and damages, which by default of the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates before mentioned in and upon the body of the ſaid fairs they had and were ſaid to have incurred: as in certain open letters of definitive ſentence ſealed with the ſeal of the ſaid fairs is ſaid to be contained. Upon which things Tolnetus [elſewhere Nicholas] called Conceſſe, our ſworn ſervant in the ſaid fairs, by word of mouth related to us that he in the year of Our Lord 1293 preſented to you our aforeſaid letters (as he ſays), which deprecatory letters of ours directed to you if forſooth you received, yet you willed not to demand due execution of the ſame, or to write back any anſwer to us, although at the end it was duly contained that what you ſhould do therein, you would will and deign by your letters to write back, and although in preſence of many truſtworthy perſons you were ſo requeſted by our ſaid ſervant; on the ground that war was begun and raiſed between the moſt excellent princes, the King of France and King of England: as our ſaid ſworn ſervant on oath has related all theſe things to be true, whereat we

moſt greatly marvel, if it is ſo and we hold ourſelves not contemned, ſince this is to the no mean damage and grievance of the ſaid creditors, and prejudice and contempt of the government of the ſaid fairs committed unto us, becauſe on account of the war aforeſaid you were by no means bound to keep back our ſaid letters deprecatory demanding due execution. Wherefore as much as we can with diligence on behalf of our moſt excellent lord, John by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, Lord of Champagne and Brie, and on our part, by the tenor of theſe preſents, we move your providence to be entreated, that you do cauſe all the goods of the aforeſaid burgeſs Fauberti and his aſſociates before named and of the ſaid company to be ſolemnly proclaimed for ſale, and to be ſold and divided without delay to the uſes and cuſtoms of fairs, or ſo much of them that out of the price of the ſale the ſaid creditors (or, for them, the bearer of theſe preſents) as to the aforeſaid ſum of money with ſufficient damages and expenſes, and we, as to the amends of our ſaid lord the King, be wholly ſatisfied; and that the body of the ſaid burgeſs Fauberti together with the bodies of his aſſociates aforenamed—if they can be found in your juriſdiction, and if the ſale of goods does not ſuffice for the premiſes—you do ſend back to us to the fairs in ſure and faithful cuſtody to pay among them the charges of the creditors, and to clear themſelves before us in this matter as to the uſes and cuſtoms beforeſaid. If, however, you wiſh to put forward any thing contrary to the report of our ſaid ſervant,

and believe your own intereſts to be concerned, be preſent in perſon before us, or, for yourſelf, ſend at a fitting day which the bearer of theſe preſents ſhall cauſe to be named to you, to ſay what ſhall ſeem to you expedient. Otherwiſe, we ſhall then hold the ſaid report to be faſt and firm, you doing thereupon, on account of the reverence and honour due to our aforeſaid lord the King and the intervention of our prayers, becauſe we are bounden to you and yours in all manner of favours deſerved, ſuch and ſo much as you would wiſh us to do for you in the like or a greater caſe. What you ſhall do herein, have a care to ſignify to us by the bearer of theſe preſents in your letters patent together with the preſent letters demanding execution ſent back, notwithſtanding that they ſhall not be preſented to you by the ſervant of the fairs. Given in the year of Our Lord one thouſand two hundred and ninety-nine in the month of September.

J. DE SANCTO NABORE.

2. *Letter ſent to the Keepers of the Fairs of Champagne and Brie, dated March* 19, 1299-1300.

To the noble men and diſcreet lords Peter de Fremeville knight and Robert de Champagne keepers of the fairs of Champagne and Brie for the lord the King of France, Elias Ruſſel, Mayor, and the Citizens of London, Greeting and continual increaſe of ſincere affection. Whereas you lately wrote unto us that we ſhould compel the burgeſs Fauberti &c. [named as before] as well by ſale of

their goods as by ſeizure of their bodies and alſo ſending them to you, to render to Pucheus de Pré formerly horſe-dealer, Martin de Burgo novo and other creditors in your letters compriſed, or to the bearer of your ſaid letters, 1,600 petit livres Tournois together with damages and expenſes, and alſo the amends of the Lord the King for default of fairs; in which ſum of money the aforeſaid dealers (*mercatores*), and every of them in the whole, are bound by their letters made in the fairs of Bari *ſuper Albam*, by reaſon of divers contracts between them before had from the year of Our Lord 1292, as in your letters thereupon to us directed more fully is contained: We willing, ſo far as the laws and cuſtoms of England permit, by mutual interchange to comply with your prayers, have cauſed to come before us, in the preſence of John de Flekers your ſervant and bearer of the preſents, the aforeſaid burgeſs and Nutus, dealers, to anſwer to your ſaid ſervant concerning the ſaid debt according to the form of your letters, which ſaid dealers aſſerted that they are quit of all the aforeſaid, becauſe of them all they ſufficiently ſatisfied the ſaid creditors, and therein proffered a letter of Gencian de Paris, baker (*panetarii*) of the King of France, and Robert de Champagne, keepers of the fairs of Champagne and Brie ſealed with the ſeal of the fairs of Champagne, in which it is contained that the ſaid burgeſs, for himſelf, his brothers, and aſſociates, in the fairs of Bari ſuper Albam in the year of Our Lord 1293, appeared in perſon before the ſaid keepers, and ſpoke with the ſaid Pucheus and com-

pounded with him under ſuch form that the ſaid Pucheus held himſelf as paid by the ſaid burgeſs, his brothers and aſſociates aboveſaid, by reaſon of the ſaid compoſition, as the ſaid Pucheus before the ſaid keepers acknowledged and wholly aſſented to the ſaid compoſition for himſelf and his aſſociates. And becauſe by the letters aforeſaid it appeared that the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates by the ſaid compoſition are totally quit of the debt aforeſaid, we could not by your mandate lawfully compel them to pay the ſaid money. Given at London on Saturday next before Mid-Lent in the year of Our Lord 1299.

3. *Second letter* [of the Keepers] *of the Fairs of Champagne and Brie for the burgeſs Fuberti to the Lord Mayor, dated May* 1300.

To the provident men, the venerable and honorable Mayor and Citizens of London, or their vicegerents, or one of them, Peter de Fremville, knight, and Robert de Champagne, keepers of the fairs of Champagne and Brie, continual increaſe of ſincere affection with greeting. Whereas we, by our letters patent ſealed with the ſeal of the ſaid fairs, have many times (*pluries*) prayed and requeſted you to compel and cauſe to be compelled the burgeſs Fouberti, citizen of Florence and horſe-dealer by ſeizure of his body and goods, and alſo by the ſale of the goods of Guido Fouberti &c. [as before], to ſatisfy Pucheus de Pré formerly in the ſaid fairs horſe-dealer, Martin &c. [as before], on and of the ſum

(that is to ſay) of 1060 [for 1600] petits livres Tournois with moderate damages and coſts, in which ſum of money the ſaid burgeſs Fouberti together with his aſſociates aforeſaid is held bound to the beforenamed Pucheus, Martin and John, as debtor, concerning the body of the paſt fairs of Barri *ſuper Albam* in the year of Our Lord 1293, as well by reaſon and becauſe of certain pledges made and committed in and upon the body of the aboveſaid fairs, as by reaſon and becauſe of the reſtitution of more ſureties and more coſts and damages which by default of the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates beforementioned in and upon the body of the ſaid fairs they had and were ſaid to have incurred, as in certain letters of definitive ſentence ſealed with the ſeal of the fairs of Champagne is ſaid to be contained: upon which, firſt, you would make no anſwer to us, or for our ſaid letters deprecatory demand any execution, as Nicholas called Conceſſe our ſworn ſervant, bearer of our ſaid letters (as he ſaid), reported to us on oath by word of mouth; but upon the tenor of our ſecond letters which you cauſed to be detained with you—as John de Flichers our ſworn ſervant, bearer of the ſame (as he ſays) related to us with his own mouth—upon theſe things with certain cloſed letters you wrote back, that you cauſed to come before you in preſence of the ſaid John de Flichers the aforeſaid burgeſs and Nutus, dealers, according to the form of our letters to anſwer to our ſaid ſervant concerning the ſaid debt. Which ſaid dealers aſſerted they were quit of all the aboveſaid, becauſe of all theſe they duly

ſatisfied the ſaid creditors &c. [reciting what was ſaid in the laſt]. By the courſe of theſe preſents we thus hereupon notify to you that the ſaid ſum of money has not yet been in any way ſatisfied, as Dignus de Pré, ſon and heir (as it is ſaid) of Pucheus deceaſed, has given us to underſtand. And aſſuredly, moreover, as ſoon as the ſaid burgeſs on account of the things aforeſaid appeared before you, and alleged the things contained in your anſwer, you ought to have taken into your hand his goods and thoſe of his ſaid aſſociates, and to have fixed a certain and fit day for him before you, as in our letters aboveſaid was contained; for the cognizance of what relates to fairs belongs to no judge, but to us only by reaſon of the government of fairs committed unto us. Wherefore, on the part of our lord the King of France and on our own part, we again aſk your providences to cauſe without delay ſo much of the goods of the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates aforeſaid to be taken, ſold, and divided to the uſes and cuſtoms of fairs that the aforeſaid Dignus de Pré may be fully ſatisfied of the whole ſum of money aforeſaid with damages and expenſes, and we, of the amends; and the body of the ſaid burgeſs, if the ſale ſhall not ſuffice for the coſts of the ſaid complainant, leſt on account of your default *it behove us to inhibit the land and fairs of Champagne and Brie to all your ſubjects and their goods.* What you ſhall do herein, have a care to ſignify to us in your letters patent by the bearer of theſe preſents, ſending back the preſent letters together with our other letters aforeſaid detained with

you, as has been ſaid. Given in the year of Our Lord 1300 in the month of May. J. de Sancto Nabore.

I have placed a paſſage in italics, as indicating the fact that the merchants of London attended theſe fairs.

4. *Letter from the Lord Mayor of London in anſwer directed to the Keepers of the Fairs of Champagne* [and Brie] *dated* 20 *Aug.* 1300.

To the diſcreet and honourable men, if it pleaſe their moſt dear friends, the lords Peter de Fremville, knight, and Robert de Champagne, Wardens of the fairs of Champagne and Brie for the illuſtrious King of France, Elias Ruſſel, Mayor of London, and the Citizens of the ſame City, Greeting and continual increaſe of ſincere affection with health. Whereas heretofore you wrote to us that we ſhould compel the burgeſs Fuberti, Citizen of Florence, horſe-dealer &c. [naming the others as before], as well by ſale of their goods as by the ſeizing of their bodies and ſending them to you, to render to Pucheus de Pré, formerly horſe-dealer, Martin de Burgo novo, and other creditors in your ſaid letters compriſed, or to the bearer of the ſaid letters, 1600 petits livres Tournois together with damages and expenſes, and alſo amends of the Lord the King for default of the fairs; in which ſum of money the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates, by their letters made in your fairs beforeſaid, are bound by reaſons of divers contracts between them had be-

longing to the year of Our Lord 1293; as in your letters thereupon to us directed more fully is contained: We, as much as in us lies, and as the cuſtoms and rights of the Realm of England permit us to do, willing to comply altogether with your prayers and requeſts, have made to come before us, in the preſence of your ſervant the bearer of the preſents, the ſaid burgeſs and Nutus whom we found in our juriſdiction. Nevertheleſs we ſequeſtered their goods in the preſence of your ſervant putting upon them concerning the ſaid debt, as is contained in your letters aforeſaid. And your letters being heard and underſtood, the ſaid traders (*mercatores*) aſſerted that they are not bound of right to anſwer to your ſaid letters, becauſe in your letters ſecondly to us directed (as you aſſert) it was contained that the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates before you in your fairs in the year of Our Lord 1292 bound themſelves, upon which obligation they proffered a certain letter of ſatisfaction of the ſaid debt, ſealed with the ſeal of the fairs of Champagne and Brie. In which ſaid letter it was contained that the ſaid burgeſs before you compounded with the ſaid Pucheus, to which compoſition he the ſaid Pucheus aſſented; and in theſe your letters now to us directed it is contained that the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates in the year of Our Lord 1293 bound themſelves before you in your fairs: at which writing we marvel. Moreover, at the time in which your ſaid letters were directed unto us, our lord the illuſtrious King of England was in his war of Scotland with whom at preſent we have not been able to conſult,

nor are the ſaid burgeſs and his aſſociates of the liberty of our City of London: on which account, without the ſpecial mandate of our Lord the King of England we dared not move a hand toward the ſeizing of their bodies, or ſend the ſaid burgeſs and others out of the Realm of England. Therefore we requeſt and earneſtly entreat your lordſhips that at preſent in this charge you will hold us excuſed from the actions aboveſaid, and deign to write to our Lord the illuſtrious King of England upon the aforeſaid debts and requeſts; and thoſe things which ſhall be commanded us for the advantage of the ſaid creditors, and for your good pleaſure, we will diſpatch without delay, and to the utmoſt of our power. Farewell in Him who is the ſalvation of all men. Given at London on Saturday next after the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary in the year of Our Lord 1300.

## CHAPTER XX.

### OTHER FAIRS OF FRANCE.

I HAVE now to notice ſome of the other great fairs of France. And here it has to be remarked that while the later ſovereigns—certainly down to Louis XV.—adopted the regulations already reviewed, for their model in the government of fairs, yet that there were ſome neceſſary deviations, according as time, place, and other circumſtances demanded. The chief of theſe deviations will be noted in the following ſummary, wherein I review the provincial fairs firſt, and afterwards thoſe in and around Paris.

Poſtlethwayt, in his "Dictionary of Trade," from which ſome of the preceding and following details are drawn, remarks, not with entire clearneſs: "Though it be not eſſential to theſe meetings of traders to have comedians, rope-dancers, and the like, yet there are few conſiderable ones without enough of them; and, perhaps, is what greatly contributes to the trade of them—the nobility and

country gentry greatly flocking to them, more for their diverſion than what they buy there, which might be had, perhaps, better and cheaper at home. It is well known how the nobility of Languedoc flock to the fair of Beaucaire, and thoſe of Normandy to that of Guibray; but it is nothing in compariſon to the aſſembly of German princes and nobles at the three fairs of Leipzic, and the two of Frankfort-on-the-Main." He was writing in the firſt half of the laſt century. Things are now much changed.

Beaucaire (in Languedoc).—An important town, whoſe manufactures conſiſt of ſilks, red wines, taffetas, olive oil, and pottery. But its trade is chiefly due to its great fair, held annually between 1ſt and 28th July, the ſite extending from the Rhône to the baſe of the Caſtle Rock. This fair was eſtabliſhed in 1217 by Raymond VI., Count of Touloufe, and was for many ages attended by merchants and manufacturers from all countries in Europe, and even from Perſia and Armenia. Arthur Young viſited it in 1788, and records ("Travels in France") that the buſineſs tranſacted at it reached 10 million livres—£439,000. So late as 1833 it drew together 60,000 perſons, and the amount of its tranſactions were ſtated to be 150 millions of francs—£6,000,000! This would appear to be an over-eſtimate.

I believe the fair now only laſts one week, namely from 22nd to 28th July inclufive. It is a rule that all bills muſt be preſented on the 27th, and proteſted

if neceſſary on 28th—laſt day of the fair. The trade in linen and cloth is very large.

BESANCON.—This ancient city, a great centre of warfare and of trade from the days of the Cæſars, had once a fair of great celebrity. At a later period it was chiefly notable for carrying on the buſineſs of exchange. This buſineſs had been perfected at the fairs of Lyons, from whence it paſſed here. On the firſt day of the fair the merchants of a certain ſtanding announced the terms on which they were willing to exchange with different countries, and on the ſecond day an authoritative declaration was made of the fair terms of exchange with any foreign country. For this purpoſe, with the conſtant fluctuations in all actual coinage, it was neceſſary to have a unit which ſhould be common to all lands, and free from the poſſibility of depreciation. Hence everything was reckoned by means of an imaginary unit—*ſcutus marcharum*, or money of account: ſo that the form which the buſineſs took was not that of buying bills, but of exchanging theſe fictitious coins, made realizable in one town, for quantities of actual coinage of another country, according to the authoritatively declared rate, which took account of the difficulty of tranſport, and of various riſks. A ſcutus marcharum was worth in Genoa 67⅓ ſoldi of the actual coinage of the place. The queſtion to be ſettled was what, at this time, ſhall be paid in Piacenza for a ſcutus marcharum in Genoa? This was the fair rate of exchange, and the announcement of it was intended to exclude the operations

of private ſpeculators (in which it was not entirely ſucceſsful), and to ſecure a diviſion of the advantage among each of the parties tranſacting buſineſs. *Vide* Cunningham's "Engliſh Induſtry and Commerce," 1882, p. 278.

BORDEAUX.—This city has or had two fairs annually—one commencing on the 1ſt March, the other on the 15th October; they each continued fifteen days. The October fair was generally the more conſiderable.

The chief commodities diſpoſed of were wines and brandies, and it was no unuſual ſight to ſee ſeveral hundreds of veſſels beyond the uſual average number in the port, ſome of theſe being of unuſually large tonnage.

The fairs had the ſame privileges with thoſe of Champagne, Lyons, Paris, and Poictou. The conſular judges performed the office of conſervators, with the ſame juriſdiction as thoſe of Lyons.

CAEN (Normandy).—This free fair was once very famous. It begins the day after Low Sunday, and laſts fifteen days, of which the firſt eight were deſignated the "great week," the other portion the leſſer, becauſe formerly the franchiſes laſted only the firſt eight; and becauſe the concourſe of ſtrangers was much greater during the early week of the fair.

The merchants dealt in merchandiſe of all kind, but woollen manufactures were the great ſpeciality. The ſhops in which the dealers expoſe their goods

here are deſignated "Lodges." A conſiderable number of horſes and of cattle were brought to it from the provinces of Normandy. This fair was regarded as next in importance to that of Guibray.

It ſeems that in 1433 there was an attempt to deſpoil this fair, by an attack of 700 horſemen, of which I find the following brief record:—"Whereupon they ſent the Lord Ambroſe de Lore with vii. c. horſemen, to robbe and ſpoyle the poore people, commynge to the faier, on the daye of Sainct Michaell the Archangell, kepte in the Suberbes of the toune of Caen."—*Hall*, Hen. VI. ann. ii.

During the year ſeveral ſmaller and ordinary fairs are held for the ſale of horſes, cattle, butter, and poultry.

Dieppe.—This is a free fair of comparatively modern date, ſaid to be the laſt authorized in France, having been founded by letters patent in 1696. It was firſt opened on 1ſt December that year. It continues for fifteen days. All foreigners are at liberty freely to trade here, and goods declared to be for the fair are not liable to ſeizure while the fair laſts; nor were they liable to inſpection by the wardens—a relaxation of practice apparently not quite in the intereſt of the buyers.

Its franchiſes and privileges are, that all goods brought into the port of Dieppe during the fair, and there ſold or bartered, are exempt from one moiety of duties inwards and outwards. And merchan-

diſe imported and not ſold during the fair may be carried out free of cuſtoms.

GUIBRAY (Lower Normandy).—A fair of very conſiderable importance, laſting from 10th to 25th Auguſt, was held here. Arthur Young, of agricultural fame, deſcribes in his "Travels in France" (1788), a viſit to it on 22nd Auguſt, and records as follows: "At this fair of Guibray merchandiſe is ſold, they ſay, to the amount of ſix millions (£260,500) . . . I found the quantity of Engliſh goods conſiderable, hard and queen's ware; cloth and cottons. A doz. of common plain knives, 3 livres; and 4 livres for a French imitation, but much worſe." It was a feature of this fair that the reſident gentry for long diſtances around came here to make their purchaſes.

LYONS.—It has been ſuppoſed that the ancient fairs of this city were founded on a ſpecial privilege granted by the Roman conquerors. They are four in number—the firſt is that of the *Epiphany*, which always begins in January, the Monday after the twelfth day; the ſecond is *Eaſter* fair, beginning on *St. Niſier's* day in April; the third in Auguſt, which begins on *St. Dominick's* day in that month; and the fourth is the fair of *All Saints*, beginning on St. Hubert's day, in November. The ſituation of this city, at the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône, render it unrivalled for the facilities of water carriage through ſome of the richeſt parts of France.

Theſe fairs were of the higheſt mercantile repute, and at a very early period bills of exchange were brought into requiſition in the adjuſtment of the accounts for merchandiſe purchaſed there. It ſeems alſo that bills reſulting from commercial dealings in many other parts of Europe were made payable at the Lyons fairs.

Fixed days for payment followed each fair. The ceremonies attending theſe days were as follows: The chief magiſtrate came to the lodge of the Exchange, accompanied by his regiſtrar and ſix ſyndics, viz., two French, two Italian, and two Swiſs or Germans; and there, after a ſhort diſcourſe to the aſſiſtants, recommending probity in trade, and obſervance of the laws, cuſtoms, and uſages of the place, the laws, cuſtoms, and uſages were read *in extenſo*; and the clerk drew up a proceſs verbal of the opening of the "payment." The next day they met at the City-hall, and by plurality of voices *ſettle the courſe of exchange for all cities with which Lyons had any commercial correſpondence.* This cuſtom prevailed for ſome centuries; and even when the ſtrict regulations here deſcribed were frequently departed from, the regulations were capable of being enforced on appeal.

When bills were drawn to be paid at one of theſe appointed times at Lyons, which had not then begun, the drawer ſaid "pay this my firſt of Exchange, &c., in the next Epiphany (or other) payment;" but if the payment had already begun, the bill had to be drawn payable "in this current or preſent payment of Epiphany" (or other term).

The bills ſo drawn were to be accepted in the firſt ſix days of the payment they were made payable in; and the perſon on whom they were drawn was not obliged to declare whether he would or not accept until the ſixth day. But after that day the bearer might proteſt them for non-acceptance, though he might detain them during the whole time of that "payment," to ſee whether any one offered to diſcharge them. The proteſt, however, was immediately forwarded to the remitters; and if any one paid a bill in the time of the payment before the ſixth day (or that being a feaſt day, the day following) it was at his own riſk.

The bearers of bills not ſatisfied by the laſt day of any "payment" were to proteſt them on the third day after the payment finiſhed, otherwiſe they loſt their right as againſt the drawers; but if this were done in form, and in the time preſcribed, the holder might afterwards refuſe payment from any one that offered it, and take his reimburſement upon the drawer, alike for principal and charges. And the ſaid holders of bills were obliged to take their reimburſement on the drawers or indorſers in a time limited, viz., for all bills drawn from any part of *France*, in two months; thoſe which were from *Italy*, *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *England*, in three months; and thoſe which were drawn from *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, in ſix months, to be counted from the date of the proteſt; or in default thereof they loſt their rights againſt the drawers and indorſers. See *Beſançon.*

The general reader muſt pardon theſe details, which are of commercial ſignificance. It was cuſtomary at an early period to make the bills drawn from Amſterdam and elſewhere on the "payment" of Lyons, in "golden crowns of the ſun;" but when this ſpecie became decried in France, the uſage of exchange came to be to draw for the payment of Lyons (as was practiſed in France generally), viz., in crowns of ſixty ſous, equal to the preſent Engliſh half-crown. Theſe practices may be compared with the uſages of Nuremburg, Frankfort, and Leipzig fairs.

The franchiſes of the fairs of Lyons in the early half of the laſt century had this ſpecial feature: that all goods intended for foreign countries, ſent out of this city during the fifteen days of either fair, paid no cuſtoms outwards, provided the bales and parcels were marked with the city arms, and had certificates of franchiſe properly made out. To enjoy this privilege the merchandiſe had to be ſent out of the kingdom before the firſt day of the following fair, unleſs ſpecial permiſſion for delay had been obtained.

There is reaſon to believe that a conſiderable trade in books was tranſacted at theſe fairs during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries.

These fairs have a great hiſtory, which cannot be followed up here, and there is the leſs need to make the attempt becauſe the inquiry is already in competent hands, thoſe of Mr. Chancellor Chriſtie, of Darley Houſe, Matlock. The authorities which may be conſulted are the following:—

1. "Ordonnances et priviléges des Foires de Lyon, et leur antiquité avec celle de Brie et Champagne et la confirmation d'ialles par ſept roys de France." Printed at Lyons in 1560, and ſubſequently.

2. "Cat. de la Bib. Lyonnaiſe a M. Coſta redige par Aime Vingtriſme." (Lyon, Brun, 1853.) Pp. 458-61. Nos. 10,353-10,415.

3. A Memoir addreſſed to Charles VIII. in 1485, and preſented by M. Pericaud ainé in his privately printed "Notes et documents pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de Lyon, 1483-1546" (Lyons, 1840).

4. In the "Proces de Bandiction de la Maiſon Neuve Accuſé d'hereſia à Lyon 1534," printed by Fick, Geneva, in 1873.

MONTRICHARD (in Touraine).—This fair was famous for the great concourſe of traders to it from all the provinces of the kingdom; but particularly for the great trade in woollen ſtuffs, amounting on an average to ſome 12,000 pieces at each fair.

RHEIMS.—This city had formerly four fairs; it has now two only, May and October—the great fair on St. Remigius' day. Theſe were all free fairs, two of the original fairs laſting eight days, the others but three days. Their franchiſes were mainly the ſame as thoſe of Champagne. A very large commerce was in early times tranſacted at theſe.

ROUEN.—This ancient trading city had two fairs;

the one called Candlemas fair, beginning on the 3rd February, and the other called Pentecoſt fair, opening the day after the feſtival. They each continued fifteen days, and were much frequented by foreigners, particularly the Dutch, Britiſh (Engliſh and Scotch), and thoſe of other northern nations; its advantageous poſition for trade, by reaſon of facilities of water carriage, offering great inducements to the concourſe of foreign traders.

Goods ſold and exchanged at theſe fairs, and carried out of the city during the fifteen days, paid but half dues outwards.

Toulon.—This town—the Plymouth of France—has a fair, not deſignated "free," which commences on 3rd November, and continues "fifteen working days." Its franchiſes, granted in 1708, were that no goods while it laſts are ſubject to any duties; and all traders, alike French and foreigners, enjoy the franchiſes and liberties granted to the fairs of Lyons, Brie, Champagne, Rouen, and other cities. Theſe underwent ſome modifications in the following year, at the inſtance of the farmers-general of the revenues of France.

Troyes.—This town (one of the cities in Champagne) was noted in the middle ages for its great fairs, of which there were two—one being fixed to the Monday after the Second Sunday in Lent; the other commencing on 1ſt September. Philip of Valois granted the privileges of theſe fairs.

A laſting record of the importance of the deal-

ings thereat is handed down to us in the form of "Troy (Troyes) weight," uſed in connection with dealings in the precious metals. It is ſaid that this ſyſtem of weights was brought from Cairo by the cruſaders, and was firſt and permanently adopted as the ſtandard of weight in the dealings of the fairs of Troyes. Hence it may be inferred that the trading was largely in the precious metals, in ſpices, and in drugs.[1]

Goods ſold at theſe fairs were exempted from all cuſtoms outwards, local dues excepted, under certain reſtrictions.

It is recorded eſpecially of theſe fairs, that they had a ſtaff of notaries for the atteſtation of bargains, courts of juſtice, police officers, ſergeants for the execution of the market judges' decrees, and viſitors —the *prud'hommes*—whoſe duty it was to examine the quality of goods expoſed for ſale, and to confiſcate thoſe found unfit for conſumption. The confiſcation required the conſent of five or ſix repreſentatives of the merchant community at the fair.

Siſmondi, in his "Hiſtory of the Italian Republics," writing of the events of the thirteenth century, ſays:

The Tuſcan and Lombard merchants however trafficked in the barbarous regions of the weſt, to carry there the produce of their induſtry. Attracted by the franchiſes of the Fairs of *Champagne* and of

[1] James VI. of Scotland adopted Troy-weight in 1618; but curiouſly the Troy-weight (Scots) coincided more nearly with Avoirdupois.

*Lyons*, they went thither, as well to barter their goods *as to lend their capital at intereſt to the nobles, habitually loaded with debt;* though at the riſk of finding themſelves ſuddenly arreſted, their wealth confiſcated by order of the King of France, and their lives too ſometimes endangered by ſanctioned robbers, under the pretext of repreſſing uſury. Induſtry, the employment of a ſuperabundant capital, the application of mechaniſm and ſcience to the production of wealth, ſecured the Italians a ſort of monopoly through Europe: they alone offered for ſale what all the rich deſired to buy; and notwithſtanding the various oppreſſions of the barbarian kings, notwithſtanding the loſſes occaſioned by their own oft-repeated revolutions, their wealth was rapidly renewed.

*Inſpectors of Fairs.*—In the courſe of the preceding notices of the chief fairs of France various references have been made to the inſpection of goods, as forming part of the regulations of ſuch fairs. Theſe inſpectors were appointed by the ſtate. It was their buſineſs to attend at all fairs where there was any conſiderable trade in woollen and other textile fabrics; to inſpect and mark them; and if deficient or not conformable to the authorized regulations, to ſeize them. Such examination it is obvious required to be made with great circumſpection and reſerve, and at hours ſuited to the convenience alike of buyers and ſellers. The inſpectors were uſually accompanied, in the performance of their duties, by the judge of the police of manufac-

tures, and the wardens and jurats of trades in the reſpective places.

Some free fairs had their own judges and particular juriſdiction.

An examination of M. Bottin's "View of the Fairs of France" goes to ſhow that they took place moſtly on the frontiers of the kingdom, or on the marches of ancient provinces; or at the foot of high mountains, or at the beginning or end of the ſnow ſeaſon, which for months ſhuts up the inhabitants in their valleys; or in the neighbourhood of the famous cathedrals or churches frequented by flocks of pilgrims; or in the middle of rich paſture tracks. But there are ſome marked exceptions to theſe rules.

The eſtabliſhment and abolition of fairs—with the exception of cattle markets and the markets of the metropolis—are now generally left to the diſcretion of the departmental prefects.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE FAIRS OF PARIS.

THE City of Paris had fairs in great variety, ſome of which I now proceed to notice.

*St. Denis* or *Lendit Fair.*—One of the earlieſt, perhaps the firſt, was the mercantile fair of St. Denis, chartered early in the ſeventh century by Dagobert "in honour of the Lord and to the glory of St. Denys at his feſtival." This fair, by reaſon of the privileges granted, became known under the name of the *forum idictum*—whence *l'indict*, and its corruption to *landit* and *lendit*. To it came the iron and lead of the Saxons, the ſlaves of the northern nations, the jewellery and perfumes of the Jews, the oil, wine and fat of Provence and Spain, the honey and madder of Neuſtria and Brittany, the merchandiſe of Egypt and the Eaſt.

The fair, which laſted ten days from the 10th of October, was opened by a proceſſion of monks from the Abbey of St. Denis; and in later times it was uſual for the Parliament of Paris to allow itſelf a holiday, called Landi, in order that its members

might take part in the great marriage-feaſt of commerce and religion : juſt as the Engliſh Parliament uſually finds relaxation in horſe-fleſh and mammon on the "Derby day" at Epſom!

Engliſh merchants frequented this fair in the ninth century, *vide* Cunningham's "Engliſh Induſtry and Commerce," 1882, p. 82.

But St. Denis had another fair, at one time famous, to which tradition has accorded the following origin. The Paris Cathedral received from Conſtantinople, in 1109, ſome fragments of the croſs, regarded as authentic. The populace could not find room in the church where they were depoſited in any one day; hence the biſhop carried them in great pomp to the plain of St. Denis, where there was room enough for the vaſt concourſe of worſhippers who aſſembled to contemplate and adore. This ceremony and proceſſion were renewed at ſtated periods. The ſchools of the cloiſter of Notre Dame had early taken part in the proceſſions; and finally the ſtudents of the Univerſity of Paris claimed it as a patron feſtival, which it certainly was not.

In proceſs of time a mart or fair became eſtabliſhed on the recurrence of this Church feſtival. The ground was regarded as conſecrated for the purpoſe. On each 12th of June (the day after the feſtival of St. Barnabas) the proceſſion took place. It was at a later period called the "Feaſt of the Parchment."

Early in the morning of the day of proceſſion, the ſtudents, attired in their beſt, aſſembled on horſeback

at the top of Mount St. Geneviève, to accompany the Rector of the Univerſity, who, arrayed in his ſcarlet cloak, and wearing his doctor's cap, proceeded on a mule or hackney, accompanied by the deans, proctors and myrmidons, to the plain of St. Denis, where the market for the ſale of parchment was already opened. The rector upon reaching the fair cauſed to be put aſide as much parchment as would be required by the Univerſity for the coming year, and received from the ſellers a donation equivalent to £100 of the preſent day. This I aſſume was the toll paid for the right of holding the fair.

After this the ſtudents alighted from their horſes, and inſtead of forming part of the proceſſion back to Paris, amuſed themſelves at the fair. This invariably led to riot and diſorder, and not a year paſſed without blood being ſpilt. Thus from the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries the decrees of parliament againſt the carrying of arms or ſticks, which were continually being renewed and always neglected, teſtify to the gravity of the evil, and to the difficulties of putting an end to it.

At laſt, in 1566, the fair was transferred from the plain to the town of St. Denis, and at about the ſame period paper began to ſuperſede parchment even for public documents. The rector, therefore, ceaſed getting a ſupply of parchment at the fair, and the ſtudents having no further pretext for attending, it ſpeedily fell into diſuſe. By the beginning of the ſeventeenth century the only veſtige of it left was the general holiday which the rector

granted to the ſtudents of the Univerſity upon the firſt Monday after the feaſt of St. Barnabas, *vide* Lecroix's "Science and Literature in the Middle Ages," pp. 34-36.

*St. Germain.*—This fair was held in a large permanent building ſpecially provided, conſtituting ſomething like twin market halls, elegantly conſtructed of timber, and long regarded as models of conſtruction. The two halls embraced nine ſtreets in line interſecting each other and divided into twenty-four ſections or aiſles; the ſhops having little rooms or ſtore-houſes over them, and behind ſome of them were open ſpaces, with wells—regarded as of importance in caſe of fire, although not proving of much avail when the event occurred. The ſtreets were diſtinguiſhed by the names of the different trades conducted in them—as Goldſmiths' Street, Mercers' Street, &c.

The fair was opened the day after Candlemas Day. It was greatly frequented by traders from Amiens, Beaumont, Rheims, Orleans, and Nugent, with various ſorts of cloth and textile fabrics. The goldſmiths, jewellers, and toymen of Paris made a fine diſplay of their wares.

There were brought to this fair, one year with another, ſome 1,400 bales of cloth and other woollen ſtuffs, of which the inſpector of manufactures at the Cuſtom-houſe, Paris, was required to keep a particular regiſter. Two inſpectors of the fair were required to be preſent at the opening of the bales of goods. There was alſo a further inſpection made

by the Maſters and Wardens of the Guilds of Drapery and Mercery.

I find a graphic account of this fair in Liſter's "Travels in France," 1698, which I here tranſcribe:

We were in Paris at the time of the fair of St. Germain. It laſts ſix weeks at leaſt; the place where it is kept, well beſpeaks its antiquity; for it is a very pit or hole, in the middle of the Faubourg, and belongs to the great abbey of that name. You deſcend into it on all ſides, and in ſome places above twelve ſteps; ſo that the city is raiſed above it ſix or eight foot.

The building is a very barn, or frame of wood, tiled over; conſiſting of many long allies, croſſing one another, the floor of the allies unpaved, and of earth, and as uneven as may be: which makes it very uneaſy to walk in, were it not the vaſt croud of people which keep you up. But all this beſpeaks its antiquity, and the rudeneſs of the firſt ages of Paris, which is a foil to its politeneſs in all things elſe now.

The fair conſiſts of moſt toy-ſhops, and Bartholomew-fair ware; alſo fiance and pictures, joiner's work, linen and woollen manufactures; many of the great ribband ſhops remove out of the Palais hither; no books; many ſhops of confectioners, where the ladies are commodiouſly treated.

The great rendezvous is at night, after the play and opera are done; and raffling for all things vendible is the great diverſion; no ſhop wanting two or three raffling boards. Monſieur, the

Dauphin, and other princes of the blood come at leaſt once in the fair-time to grace it. Here are alſo coffee-ſhops, where that and all ſorts of ſtrong liquors . . . . are ſold.

Knavery here is in perfection as with us; as dexterous cut-purſes and pick-pockets. A pick-pocket came into the fair at night, extremely well-clad, with four lacqueys with good liveries attending him: he was caught in the fact, and more ſwords were drawn in his defence than againſt him; but yet he was taken, and delivered into the hands of juſtice, which is here ſudden and no jeſt.

I was ſurprized at the impudence of a booth, which put out the pictures of ſome Indian beaſts, with hard names; and of four that were painted, I found but two, and thoſe very ordinary ones, viz. a leopard, and a racoun. I aſked the fellow, why he deceived the people, and whether he did not fear cudgelling in the end: he anſwered with a ſingular confidence, that it was the painter's fault; that he had given the racoun to paint to two maſters, but both had miſtaken the beaſt; but however (he ſaid) though the pictures were not well deſigned, they did nevertheleſs ſerve to grace the booth and bring him cuſtom.

*St. Laurence* (or *St. Laurent*).—So called from its ſituation near St. Laurence's Church. It is ſo ancient that no date can be even approximately fixed for its origin. Its chief traders were gold-ſmiths and mercers, picture-painters, ſempſtreſſes, lemonade-ſellers, toymen, earthenware people, ginger-

bread bakers, &c. &c. To it came people from Amiens, Beauvais, Rheims, and other places of Picardy and Champagne, with light fabrics, both plain and ſtriped, and camlets of all ſorts.

The fair ſeems originally to have laſted but one day; but the period gradually became extended to two months, commencing the day after St. James's day and ending at Michaelmas. It was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet.

Theſe two rival fairs had this peculiarity: they were always open as bazaars. They were not fairs in the uſual ſenſe of the term for more than three months in the year. The St. Germain fair was held in the winter, and the St. Laurent in the early part of the ſummer. The former never recovered its popularity after the fire which deſtroyed the wooden conſtructions uſed during the fair (1763), though by the erection of new galleries, more elegant than the old ones, there was added to the attractions of a fair a dancing-ſaloon, the Winter Wauxhall, which was well attended for a time.

The St. Laurent fair was held in the upper part of the ſaubourg of that name, was larger and more elaborately decorated than the St. Germain fair, but it had no Wauxhall, and the only amuſements for the frequenters of its Chineſe Redoubt were ſwings and other foreign games.

*The St. Ovide Fair.*—This was eſtabliſhed in Auguſt, 1764, and was held in the very centre of Paris, upon the Place Vendôme, then bounded on one ſide by the church and convent of the Capu-

cines. It was held there for ſome years, and then transferred to the Place Louis XV., where it did not laſt long, although it had originally been made faſhionable as the *Gingerbread Fair*. It was at this fair that Nicolet, previous to eſtabliſhing his theatre *des grands danſeurs du Roi*, diſplayed the wonderful ſtrength and agility which gave riſe to the proverb "*de plus fort en plus fort, comme chez Nicolet.*" —Lacroix, "The Eighteenth Century," p. 356.

*Onion Fair of Notre Dame.*—This fair is held in September, commencing with the feaſt of Notre Dame, and continuing till the end of the month. It is held on the Iſle of Notre Dame, along the Quai Bourbon. A prodigious quantity of black and red onions are brought into the city at this period, the citizens laying in a ſtock for the whole year.

*Pork or Bacon Fair.*—This "fair for gammons" is held on the Tueſday in Paſſion Week in the ſtreet of Notre Dame, laſting but the one day only. There is ſold at it immenſe quantities of hams, flitches of bacon, and other ſalted pork. Many amuſing articles have been written concerning it.

## Horse and Cattle Fairs.

The horſe and cattle fairs of France were and are very numerous. I ſhall give but a brief outline of the chief or more remarkable. Thoſe of *Chénerailles* (a great town of Auvergne) are chiefly

famous for their fat cattle, brought for the moſt part to Paris. The fairs are held the laſt Tueſday in every month. The fairs of *Guibray* and *Caen* are amongſt the chief for horſes. That of Fontenay, in Poictou, for the horſes bred in that province. It is held 24th June, and is one of the moſt noted in France. The fair at Niort, on 1ſt December, is chiefly for foals. At *Nogent-ſur-Seine*, is a conſiderable horſe fair, the 11th Auguſt. There are three annual cattle fairs at *Braiſne-le-Comte*, near Soiſſons, viz. on 6th May, 14th September, and 14th December. The greater part of the ſales are for Paris. The fairs of *Nangis* and *Crecy* in Brie, on 4th July and 29th September reſpectively, are very conſiderable, and from theſe the graziers and butchers in the Iſle of France are ſupplied. *Montely* is a fair chiefly for cows, great numbers of which are brought by the farmers and peaſants about Paris and all the Iſle of France. It is held 9th September. There are alſo ſeveral fairs for pigs held in the villages around Paris, and innumerable other cattle and horſe fairs of leſſer note, not calling for any particular mention.

# FAIRS OF RUSSIA.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE SMALLER RUSSIAN FAIRS.

THE modern growth of Ruſſia is greater than that of any other European country. Its fairs have done much to facilitate that growth. It ſeems as if its people were paſſing through thoſe ſtages of commercial building up which the other nationalities have long left in the dim viſta of the paſt. The greateſt fair held in Europe at the preſent time is that of *Nijni Novgorod;* yet that is not greater, relatively, than was Sturbridge in England, or thoſe of Lyons, or of Bari (Italy), or of Bruges, in Flanders. There are ſeveral other large fairs, of which I ſhall alſo give the beſt details available. They are chiefly in ſouthern Ruſſia. The fair of Riga is an exception. The fair of Kiakhta is in Aſiatic Ruſſia, as are alſo thoſe of Irbit and Yekaterinburg. I ſhall firſt notice the ſmaller fairs, and finally that of Nijni.

BERDICHEFF (in the government of Volhynia,

ſouthern Ruſſia).—This town has long been famous for its fairs. King Staniſlaus Auguſtus permitted the holding of ten in the year. Five either now are or recently were held, viz. in January, March, June, Auguſt, and November. Thoſe of June and Auguſt are the moſt conſiderable. Theſe fairs have given riſe to the commercial importance of the town. The chief trade of the fairs is in grain, wine, honey, wax, leather, and horſes and cattle; while cotton and ſilk goods, glaſs-ware, hardware, ſalt, fiſh, and beetroot ſugar are becoming of increaſing importance. The value of the goods ſold is eſtimated at £800,000; the Jews are the chief purchaſers. At the principal horſe fair there is ſometimes a ſhow of 40,000 horſes. The nobles of the country with their families attend the fairs, and remain encamped in the neighbourhood of the town during the three weeks they laſt. At the January fair, 1883, a circus was burned, and about three hundred lives were loſt.

ELIZAVETGRAD (ſouthern Ruſſia).—This town, formerly deſignated "Fortreſs of St. Elizabeth," with its "Great Perſpective," and boulevard of white acacias, has four annual fairs, the moſt important of which is that of St. George, held on 23rd April (old ſtyle). The value of the goods brought into the fair in 1863 was over £300,000. The chief commodities of the diſtrict are tallow and grain. The goods brought into it are thoſe manufactured at Odeſſa, Wilna, and Berdicheff. There is alſo a daily market held here, with tranſactions of conſiderable magnitude, eſpecially after harveſt.

JITOMIR (or Zytomiers), chief town in the province of Volhynia, weſtern Ruſſia, has two annual fairs—one in July, the other in Auguſt. Apart from the trade at theſe, which is conſiderable, the ordinary commerce of the town is ſmall. There are three markets weekly.

KARKOFF.—This town, ſituate in the adminiſtrative province of the ſame name in ſouthern Ruſſia, is a place of very conſiderable importance. It has four fairs, the "Kreſtchenſkaya" or Epiphany fair, opened 6th January, being one of the moſt important in the empire. In 1863 goods to the amount of from two and a half to three millions ſterling in value were brought to that fair, the textile fabrics alone repreſenting a value of about one million ſterling. Cattle and wool conſtitute the local produce. The wool ſales take place excluſively at the Trinity fair in June. Bazaars and markets are alſo held on Sundays, Wedneſdays and Fridays. Theſe are particularly active immediately before Chriſtmas and Eaſter. This is one of the moſt pleaſant diſtricts of Ruſſia. The vine and the mulberry, with other fruits, thrive here.

KASAN (Kazan).—This, while an independent ſtate, had a conſiderable fair, one of the greateſt in Europe; but John the Terrible prevented Ruſſian merchants from attending it. In 1552 Kaſan was conquered by this ſame Ivan, and annexed to Ruſſia. See *Makariev* and *Nijni Novgorod.*

KORENNAYA, ſouthern Ruſſia, twenty-ſeven verſts from Kurſk.—Two very large fairs are held, viz. on the ninth Friday after Eaſter, and on the 8th Sept. in each year. The cathedral within the famous monaſtery of Bogoroditſky-Znamenſky (*Apparition of the Virgin*) contains a holy image held in great veneration—that of the apparition of ſaid Holy Virgin, after whom the monaſtery is named. Immenſe crowds follow the proceſſion of the holy image every year, at a period coincident with the firſt fair. The monaſtery was founded in 1597.

KREMENCHUK.—An important town in ſouthern Ruſſia on the Dnieper, in which fairs are held at end of January for fourteen days, on 24th June for eleven days, and on 1ſt September (all old ſtyle) for ten days. The buſineſs tranſacted is not large, particularly having regard to the favourable ſituation. In 1862 the ſales of theſe fairs amounted to £85,000, and the value of the goods brought to about £110,000.

KURSK.—A town in ſouthern Ruſſia, on the river Tuſkor. Two fairs are held here—one in April, the other in the tenth week after Eaſter. There are alſo two weekly markets—Mondays and Fridays. See alſo *Korennaya*.

MAKARIEV.—The monks of the monaſtery of St. Macarius (after which the town ſeems to be named) by virtue of their charter eſtabliſhed a fair here in 1641, after which annually in the month of July for a

ſpace of three weeks the few wretched huts, built on a ſandy deſert, were replaced by thouſands of ſhops erected with a promptitude peculiar to the Ruſſians. Taverns, coffee-houſes, a theatre, ball rooms, a crowd of wooden buildings painted and adorned with taſte, ſprung up. People from many nations thronged here in great multitudes: Ruſſians from all the provinces of the empire, Tartars, Tchuvaches, Teheremiſſes, Calmuks, Bucharians, Georgians, Armenians, Perſians and Hindus; and in addition Poles, Germans, French, and Engliſh. Notwithſtanding the confuſion of coſtumes and languages, the moſt perfect order prevailed: all were there for the purpoſes of commerce. The riches which were gathered there within the ſpace of two leagues were ſaid to be incalculable. The ſilks of Lyons and Aſia, the furs of Siberia, the pearls of the Eaſt, the wines of France and Greece, the merchandiſe of China and Perſia. Theſe were brought in contraſt with the moſt ordinary articles of everyday life, in true Eaſtern faſhion. This fair was in truth one of the developments of *Nijni Novgorod*, which ſee.

Orel.—An important town in ſouth-weſtern Ruſſia founded by John the Terrible, about 1565, for the defence of the Grand Duchy of Moſcow againſt the Tartars. The town has a large trade in tallow and hemp, alſo in linſeed oil, wheat, cattle, timber and ſalt. This commerce has two outlets—the one by land; the other by water down the Oka, to Kaluga, Serpukhof, Kolomna, Murom, Nijni-Novgorod, Rybinſk, and St. Peterſburg. There

are three fairs annually—between 6th and 20th January, during the fifth and ſixth weeks after Eaſter, and from 8th to 31ſt Sept. (O.S.) The firſt is the leaſt conſiderable of theſe. The market or bazaar days are Fridays and Sundays. After harveſt as many as 10,000 carts enter the town daily, laden with wheat and other produce.

POLTAVA, ſouthern Ruſſia, on the river Vorſkla, long famous for the leeches found in its pools and moraſſes, and which are largely and widely exported. The importance of the trade of the town is chiefly due to its fair (Ilyinſkaya) held on 10th July, and laſting a month. The average value of the goods carried to this great commercial gathering is eſtimated at about three and a half millions ſterling. The number of carts engaged in bringing the produce from Moſcow, Odeſſa, Kharkoff, Kurſk and Voronej is upwards of 20,000. Ruſſian manufactures are much ſold, but wool is the great ſtaple of trade. Horſes, cattle, and ſheep are likewiſe bought and ſold in great numbers. There are two other fairs—one on the feaſt of the Aſcenſion.

RIGA (the capital of Livonia, Baltic Provinces) had ſeveral centuries ſince, two conſiderable fairs, one held in May, the other in September, very much frequented by Engliſh, French, Dutch, and other merchants. At the period of theſe fairs the town wore a very commercial aſpect, and the port was thronged with ſhips. The local cuſtoms were peculiar, and gave riſe to difficulties. The townſ-

men had priority in the ſelection of warehouſes, and in the ſale of commodities, and as a reſult the veſſels of foreigners were unduly detained, and the ſelection of the produce made in advance of their opportunities. Hence it was recorded in the middle of the laſt century that theſe fairs were on the decline.

ROSTOF, on the river Don, near its mouth in the ſea of Azof (Lake Nero), and famous for its manufactures of white lead, vermilion, and other mineral and chemical ſubſtances; alſo for its linen manufacture. Large fairs are held twice a year, when very conſiderable numbers of cattle and horſes change ownerſhip.

VORONEJ, on the Voronej river, near its confluence with the Don; one of the moſt flouriſhing towns in ſouthern Ruſſia. Its trade is in grain, linſeed, tallow. Four fairs are held annually, the larger being thoſe of 9th May and 29th Auguſt (O.S.). Markets are held three times a week.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### NIJNI-NOVGOROD.[1]

THIS may now be pronounced the great mercantile fair of the world. It probably bears a greater reſemblance (but on a larger ſcale) to that of Sturbridge in its beſt days, than any other of paſt or preſent times. It is almoſt the laſt remaining type (in Europe) of the mediæval form of commerce. The origin and early hiſtory of this fair are ſomewhat obſcure. Authentic records atteſt that mercantile gatherings were held at Nijni ſo early as 1366; and tradition points to a ſtill earlier origin. Before Kaſan was conquered by Ivan the Terrible in 1552, Ruſſian merchants were prohibited from attending fairs in that province. A conſiderable fair then held was the precurſor of the preſent.

The Ruſſians held a fair at another place on the Volga. In 1641 the monks of the monaſtery of St. Macarius, by virtue of their charter, founded a

[1] The name ſignifies *Lower New Town*, to diſtinguiſh it from Novgorod the Great on the Volkhof, North-Weſtern Ruſſia.

fair at *Makariev*, ſeventy-one miles below Nijni. Of this fair I have already given ſome account. "The monks of the monaſtery (ſays Michell) very cleverly made Nijni a place of religious as well as commercial reſort, and levied taxes on the trade which they foſtered." Up to 1751 the tolls had ſtill been collected by theſe monks; but in that year the fair became the property of the State. In 1824 it definitely fixed at Nijni-Novgorod. It was probably removed here temporarily in 1816, when the town of Makariev was deſtroyed by fire.

The ſituation of the town oppoſite the confluence of the Volga (having a courſe of 2,320 miles) and Oka (with 900 miles of navigation) rivers, is pre-eminently ſuitable for the purpoſe of commerce, of which theſe rivers indeed, prior to the introduction of railways, conſtituted the great arteries. The town of Lower Novgorod was founded as early as 1222, and was in 1237 occupied by the Tartars. When it was taken from them, they declared perpetual warfare againſt it, and ſacked it more than once. By means of the two large rivers named—which extend, with their contributory ſtreams and canal communication with the Baltic, over a conſiderable portion of northern, eaſtern and ſouthern Ruſſia—an eaſy communication is maintained with the richeſt agricultural and manufacturing provinces. The Kamma, a tributary of the Volga, alſo affords water communication with the remote provinces of Ural and parts of Siberia. The productions of China are carried during the month of September over the Baikal Lake, and in ſpring reach the Volga along with the

Siberian caravans. The productions of Aſtrakhan, Perſia and Bokhara aſcend that river, while thoſe of Peterſburg, Germany, England, and France deſcend it: ſo that the merchandiſe of the eaſt and the weſt meet as in a common centre here. And this line of commerce dates back into far diſtant ages, promoted and ſhared in by thoſe trading monks who took ſo leading a part in founding the great Hanſeatic League.

It is an intereſting hiſtorical fact that the firſt veſſel of war ever built in Ruſſia was launched at Nijni by a company of merchants from Holſtein, who obtained permiſſion in the ſeventeenth century to open a trade with Perſia and India by way of the Caſpian ſea. The veſſel was called the Friedrich. The travels of Olearius were in connection with this undertaking, of which there is a great hiſtory, to be recounted on ſome other occaſion.

The town has many fine modern buildings. In the ordinary way, the beſt view to be had of it and the ſurrounding country is from the "Otkos" or terrace built by order of the Emperor Nicholas.[1] It is ſaid to be one of the beſt views in Europe. As far as the eye can reach extends the vaſt alluvial plain, rich with culture, and occaſionally dotted with foreſts; whilſt the Volga, flowing down from Tver,

[1] This terrace is locally known as Mouravieff's Folly, in conſequence of a tower built by him, upon which he deſigned to place a facſimile of the famous Straſburg clock, but on ſo gigantic a ſcale that the hours and minutes, the moon's phaſes, and planets, cycles, &c., ſhould be diſtinctly viſible from every locality of the town and fair!

looks like a broad blue ribbon ſtretched over the country from one extremity of the horizon to the other. Much of the plain below is inundated in ſpring by the overflowing of the river, leaving a fertile depoſit which conſiderably enhances the value of the land. The ſtationary population of the town does not exceed 30,000 or 40,000, but during the fair the inhabitants ſwell up to conſiderably over 200,000; and this quite irreſpective of prodigious numbers of caſual viſitors. The ancient Kremlin, with its low arched gates, whitewaſhed towers, and crenellated walls, is one of the ſights of the place. The thick green foliage of the gardens and the gay reſidences of the inhabitants all blend into a very picturesque whole.

*Site of the Fair.*—We muſt next take a glance at the ſite of the fair, which is outſide the town, and can hardly be ſeen from the gates. Turn then from the Volga, or Aſiatic direction, and there, acroſs the Oka (here about a quarter of a mile broad), is a low, almoſt inundated flat, of triangular ſhape, between the two rivers. This was regarded as the moſt convenient ſite. Great difficulties were preſented by the ſwampy nature of the ſoil. Deep ſewers vaulted over were conſtructed through the moraſs; theſe being connected by canals with the rivers. The buildings for the bazaars were raiſed on piles, and the whole boggy ſurface of the plain was covered to the depth of ſome feet with gravel and clean ſand. Through this the ordinary ſurface water and the inundated flow percolates, and leaves clean paſſages or roads. In the midſt of the plain

is the great bazaar—an immenſe rectangular market-place—divided by lanes or paſſages, interſecting at right angles into ſixty-four ſquare groups of ware-houſes, or blocks of ſtone-built buildings, two ſtoreys high, with projecting verandahs, ſo as to ſhelter goods and paſſengers from the ſun or rain; containing, beſides ſome public offices in the centre, 2,522 large ſtores for merchandiſe, to each of which is a ſmall chamber for the merchant.

The connecting ſtreets are ſome thirty or forty yards wide; and the centre avenue is yet much wider, and planted with trees. Theſe ſtreets much reſemble thoſe of Cairo, Smyrna, and other oriental towns. In the centre of that block of permanent buildings is located the official reſidence of the governor during the fair, as alſo all the buſineſs offices for the adminiſtration. It was in this official reſidence that the Duke of Edinburgh ſtayed during his viſit to the fair a few years ſince. It is equivalent to the royal pavilion of ſome of the early Engliſh fairs. The principal avenues of the fair are connected with ſome ten miles of wharves or river frontage; and during the fair bridges are erected ſo as to give eaſy acceſs from the town to the fair. The coſt of preparing the ſite and the principal buildings was forty millions of roubles—£1,670,000 ſterling. The fair, however, has long outgrown the original limits, and miles of temporary ſtructures ſpring into exiſtence for the occaſion. It extends over ſome ſeven or eight ſquare miles!

*Unloading.*—As the period of the fair approaches, the ordinary deſolation of the location paſſes rapidly

away. The rivers, buſy indeed at all times when navigation is poſſible, now become almoſt blocked by traffic. A perfect foreſt of maſts is viſible. All diſtinct trace of the ordinary bridge of boats ſeems loſt. The 400 or 500 ſteamers, built mainly in England and Belgium, which in the ordinary way are trading on the 1,600 miles from this to the Caſpian ſea, all ſeem concentrated here. They dart about like ſtraws on theſe mighty rivers. But more ſtriking-looking are the quaint mediæval-looking barges, coming as they do from the moſt diſtant parts of the empire, piloted through canals and rivers in order to find their appointed place here. Theſe are all being rapidly diſcharged of their cargoes by an army of ragged Tartar labourers. Here will be found merchandiſe from every quarter of the globe; merchandiſe which has in ſome caſes been ſeveral years on its way hither; merchandiſe which comes from localities ſo remote as not to be brought into voluntary aſſociation with this fair. Centuries ago, we are told by the hiſtorian of Genoa, the Genoeſe merchants built larger ſhips than were required for their regular trading operations, ſhips calculated to withſtand the terrors of the Bay of Biſcay, and the ſtorms of the German Ocean, in order to make voyages to the Hanſeatic towns, to Wiſburg and Gotland, as alſo to the coaſt of Ruſſia in order to participate in this great fair (Bent's "Genoa," 1881, p. 107).

*The Fair.*—And now we arrive at the fair itſelf. Round the public offices in the centre are ranged the European wares, the French millinery, and

Engliſh broadcloth. Next follow the Armenians, a numerous and diſtinguiſhed claſs in every commercial aſſemblage throughout the Eaſt. Near theſe the Bokharians uſually range themſelves, and they are eaſily diſtinguiſhable from other Aſiatics by their ſquat corpulent figures and dark complexions. Nearly a whole ſide of the bazaar is occupied by the Chineſe market, in which the ſhops are all laid out in Chineſe faſhion. Tea is the chief article of the Chineſe trade; and on this portion of the fair I ſhall ſpeak later. Beyond the ſtone buildings of the bazaar commence the rows of wooden booths in which the motley Siberian and Tartar tribes eſtabliſh themſelves with their furs and peltry; the moſt remarkable to a European eye, though not the leaſt common of their wares, being the dark mouſe-coloured hide of the wild horſe, with black mane and ſtreak along the back, much prized by the Baſhkirs and other tribes for its warmth as well as beauty.

The wine trade has never conſtituted a great feature of the fair, although wine ſkins from the Caucaſus may be ſeen; and many of the brands of ſouthern Ruſſia may be found on application.

Moſt of the ſtreets of the fair have elegant light arcades on each ſide, ſupported in front by caſt-iron columns, where purchaſers can walk about, well ſheltered in all kinds of weather. The ſtalls are generally very handſome, and in ſome inſtances extend from ſtreet to ſtreet, ſo as to leave two fronts. They preſent nothing of the confuſion of an ordinary fair; the goods of every kind are as neatly

ranged as in the ſhops of a city. To facilitate buſineſs there is a ſeparate quarter ſet apart for each different and important claſs of goods. One quarter contains groceries, of which the value ſold is very great. In another, dried fiſh and caviar are expoſed in moſt fragrant variety, of which great quantities are ſold, amounting to about £60,000 in value. I may here remark that the annual value of the ſturgeon alone taken in the Volga is eſtimated at two and half millions of roubles; and above 30,000 barrels of caviar have been diſpatched from Aſtrakhan in a ſingle year. A third quarter contains leather articles of every kind, which may be bought exceedingly cheap; boots and ſhoes are diſpoſed of in very large quantities. Morocco leather is alſo ſold wholeſale to a very large amount. A great deal of it comes from Aſtrakhan, where, as in other parts of European Ruſſia, goats are kept for the uſe of their hides to make this leather, more than for their milk or fleſh. The pleaſant ſoap of Kaſan is ſold in large quantities. One is glad to find that it is in ſuch demand.

The iron and iron-ware ſtored in the mile of ſhops where nothing but this metal is ſold, has been brought at immenſe expenſe from Siberia; yet much of it in its original crude ſtate probably came from Tula, not a great diſtance from where it is now, in its highly finiſhed form, expoſed for ſale. Weapons and glittering arms of all kinds occupy conſpicuous places in the hardware ſtores. There is, as a ſet-off, a very conſiderable ſupply of holy images and prieſtly veſtments!

The cloth range is large and well ſtocked. One quarter contains ready-made clothes of all deſcriptions. The cloaks alike for men and women are made from ſtuffs with moſt ſingular patterns. Some of the figured works from Aſia are really beautiful. The value of the woollen goods (Ruſſian and foreign) ſold annually is ſeldom leſs than three millions of roubles—£375,000. The quarter for fancy articles—gloves, handkerchiefs, ribbons, &c.,—is always crowded with purchaſers, attracted by the graces of the fair occupants from Rue St. Honoré. The diviſion for cotton goods is fully ſtocked. The mills of England are largely drawn upon for theſe; but they are not in the hands of Engliſhmen at this fair. The value of cotton goods ſold here averages about twenty-two million roubles—£2,750,000! A grand diſplay is made by the ſilks and ſhawls, chiefly of oriental manufacture, and hence in very brilliant colours. The manufactured ſilks diſpoſed of here yearly are eſtimated at ten and half millions of roubles, or £1,312,000; while of raw ſilk there is ſold over 300,000 lbs. The furniture ſhops conſtitute a great feature of the fair; and one can but be ſurpriſed to ſee coſtly carved tables, chairs, ſofas, and ſtill more large and valuable mirrors from France and St. Peterſburg. Glaſs and cryſtal articles, mainly from Bohemia, conſtitute a very attractive diſplay, while the jewellery alike of Europe and of Aſia is always a ſource of conſiderable attraction, and the means of creating a large expenditure of caſh. The precious ſtones from Bokhara and other parts of Central Aſia are placed in the moſt tempting pro-

minence and profuſion. But beware of taliſmans and turquoiſes that appear to be cheap; they will probably be found equally cheap and much more ſatisfactory nearer home. The malachite and lapis-lazuli ornaments and other ſtones from Siberia are ſometimes good inveſtments; but ſome expert knowledge is required. Curious belts of ſilver may be purchaſed, but not without long bargaining. The hall-mark is repreſented by the number 84. There is a ſtall for the ſale of ornaments in gold and ſilver, ſet with Siberian and Perſian ſtones. Beware! But it is impoſſible to recount in any detail all that may be purchaſed or ſeen.

*The Tea Quarter.*—One of the moſt ſingular ſights of the fair is the tea quarter, which occupies the greater portion of an immenſe diviſion ſtanding by itſelf, and diſtinguiſhable by its Chineſe architecture. The Chineſe ſuperintend this buſineſs themſelves, or rather formerly did ſo. Along the wharves enormous pyramids of cheſts of tea are heaped upon the ground, covered only with matting made from the inner bark of the birch tree. Theſe cheſts of tea, called "tſibiki," are ſo packed as to be impervious to rain or damp. Outſide the ordinary wooden cheſt is a covering of wickerwork of cane or bamboo, round which, at Kiakhta, raw bullhides are tightly ſtretched, with the hair inwards. Theſe cheſts arrive at Nijni from China, having been received in barter, at Kiakhta or Maimatchin, on the Chineſe border of Ruſſia. The Ruſſians, who are great tea drinkers, are accuſtomed to the higher qualities of tea grown in North China; but

theſe are now quite as eaſily obtained from Canton as from *Kiakhta* (which ſee), and it is ſaid (contrary to former belief) that the ſea carriage has no deteriorating effect whatever. Here may be ſeen ſome kinds of tea which ſcarcely ever enter into the Engliſh trade, viz. yellow and brick, the former of a delicious fragrance and very pale, but injurious to the nerves if taken very frequently; it is handed round after dinner, in lieu of coffee, in Ruſſia. The brick tea is conſumed by the Kalmucks and Kirghizes of the Steppe. The beſt yellow tea ſells for about 35*s.* per pound. The tea trade of the fair has ſhown a tendency to decreaſe.

*Outſkirts of the Fair.*—To the caſual viſitor the outſkirts of the fair are almoſt more intereſting than its centre, for obſervation and ſtudy. The conſtant ſucceſſion of carts in long ſtrings; the crowds of labourers; the knots of earneſt-looking traders with long beards; the itinerant vendors of liquid refreſhments and white rabbit-ſkins; the greaſy ſlovenly monk collecting kopecks of thoſe who fear to withhold their charity leſt their tranſactions be influenced by the Evil One; the frequent beggars, pleading for the moſt part that they have been burned out, and ſhowing the moſt dreadful-looking ſores as evidence of their veracity; all theſe go to make up the great aſſemblage, the unique *tout enſemble* of the great fair of Nijni-Novgorod as it has been, and is to-day. How long will it remain?

*Adminiſtration of Fair.*—The adminiſtration of the fair is carried on under the ſuperviſion of the Governor of the Province; the arrangement of all

commercial matters and adjuſtment of difficulties being entruſted to a committee of gentlemen called the "Fair Committee," choſen from among the aſſembled merchants. This committee conſiſts of a preſident, three aldermen, and three committee-men, beſides the manager of the fair-office and the mayor of the town of Nijni. The management of all Government property is in the hands of this committee. The letting of ſhops and ſtorehouſes and the erection of bridges and all temporary works comes alſo within their province. The conditions on which the ſhops and ſtores built by Government are let to merchants and dealers are exceedingly liberal, and this rent is the ſole profit made by Government on the tranſactions of the fair. No impoſts of any kind are levied in the ſhape of licences or duties. Shops are let to the firſt applicant, the ſole reſervation being that the occupier of the previous year has a prior claim. In order to promote competition, each row of buildings is devoted to a certain kind of merchandiſe, thus obliging the merchants to endeavour to underſell one another. To prevent monopolies or over-ſpeculation, no merchant is allowed to hire more than three conſecutive ſhops, nor is he allowed to occupy more than one ſhop unleſs they adjoin each other. The number of ſhops let in 1874 was 6,086, and their total rent amounted to ſomething over £28,000.

The fair laſts ſix weeks—the really buſy period being from the 18th to 27th Auguſt, when the height is reached. Some fifteen days beyond are allowed for the ſettlement of accounts. The uſance

of the fair is twelve months credit, *i.e.* from one great fair to the following; but ſometimes, in dull times, and under ſpecial circumſtances, as much as two years credit is given. This was particularly the caſe in 1849.

*Trade of the Fair.*—The annual trade of the fair has been the ſubject of various conjectures; but I believe the Government of the Province has cauſed careful eſtimates to be made from time to time. In 1697 the trade of the fair was eſtimated at £12,000 per annum—evidently far too low. In 1790 it was ſtated to be £4,500,000!

The following are the details of the principal branches of the fair in 1849, which were underſtood to be leſs than the tranſactions of the preceding year: money being ſcarce, and there was a ſtagnation in the grain trade. The total eſtimate of the Ruſſian produce offered for ſale was £7,916,016, of which there were ſold raw produce £1,917,940; proviſions £858,684; home manufactures £3,981,716—total £6,758,340, leaving £1,157,675 unſold. The value of the foreign goods and produce was eſtimated at £2,430,191; of theſe Aſiatic articles ſold to the extent of £1,329,131; European raw materials £493,955, and manufactured goods £204,888—leaving £402,217 unſold. So that the total merchandiſe at the fair was eſtimated at the value of 10½ millions ſterling, of which about nine millions were ſold.

In Murray's "Handbook of Ruſſia," written by Mr. Michell, the then well-known Britiſh Conſul, and publiſhed in 1868, it is ſtated that the aggregate

ſale and purchaſes at the fair repreſented about ſixteen millions ſterling; which dealings were conducted by from 150,000 to 200,000 traders from the various countries of Europe and Aſia.

Mr. Doria, ſecretary of the Britiſh Embaſſy at St. Peterſburg, reported that the trade of the fair had increaſed from about ſix millions ſterling in 1847 to over £20,000,000 in 1874 (165 millions of roubles), when upwards of 6,000 ſhops were let. The iron ſold in various forms amounted to 5,557,800 pouds of 36 lbs.—the value being £2,193,812. Tea of the value of about £1,200,000 was ſold.

At the fair of 1879 the iron trade figured largely, and the following facts were obtained regarding the ſupplies. The Ruſſian ironmaſters ſent 15,130,498 pouds (1 poud = 36 lbs.) of wrought iron, ſteel, and metal work, of the value of 7,528,350 roubles. A conſiderable amount was alſo imported into the iron ports of the Volga, viz. at Laïchev, 1,337,541 pouds; Kaſan, 16,474; Simbirſk, 22,066; Saratov, 92,361; Roſtov, on the Don, 67,762. Caſt iron was not in great force, there being only 530,488 pouds, of the value of 412,475 roubles. One of the largeſt contributions was ſent from the works of Count Strogonof, being 6,725,588 pouds.

*Revenue of the Fair.*—The fair conſtitutes a ſource of State revenue. When in 1751 the fair firſt became the property of the State, its tolls or revenues were farmed at about £150 per annum. In the reign of the Emperor Paul (end of laſt century) the farmer of the tolls engaged to build a new bazaar, and to pay £4,500 a year into the ex-

chequer. In 1824 a new governor's houſe, bazaar, and ſhops were erected, already deſcribed, and an annual ſum of £8,000, part of the rental of theſe, was appropriated to pay the coſt of theſe buildings. The rental, as we have ſeen, is now approximating to £30,000.

A "charity dormitory" was fitted up by Count Ignatieff, with accommodation for ſome 250 houſeleſs vagrants; but if all of this claſs who are preſent were to apply for admiſſion, probably accommodation for 20,000 would be needed!

The mode of eſtimating the number of perſons attending the fair is peculiarly ingenious. The bakers are required to make daily returns of the quantity of bread they ſell, and in this manner an approximation is arrived at. Of thoſe preſent at the fair, only about one in a hundred are female.

It may be remarked that there is an excellent reſtaurant under the governor's houſe in the fair. Some of the refreſhment booths in the fair preſent a remarkable ſight, and, we may fairly add, ſmell! The "Armenian kitchen" is one of the ſights. Excellent horſe-fleſh may be had at the Tartar reſtaurants!

The paſſport ſyſtem has been aboliſhed as to perſons attending the fair, the governor finding it impoſſible to examine, or indeed even to open the 40,000 documents per day that were formerly ſent in. Beſides, identification is out of the queſtion; and the pickpocket fraternity uſe to purchaſe, or more appropriately ſteal, the authorization they required under the old ſyſtem.

*Sanitary Arrangements.*—The ſanitary arrangements of the fair conſtitute by no means an unimportant feature. To a ſometimes tropical heat there is the uſual accompaniment of clouds of finely pulveriſed duſt. The Eaſterns aſſembled are not proverbial for habits of perſonal cleanlineſs. There is indeed an aroma unmiſtakable. The ſewers are fluſhed ſeveral times a day by means of water drawn from Lake Meſtcherſki, giving a fall of ſix yards into the river Oka. Round the central bazaar is a ſmall canal, provided in caſe of outbreak of fire, and found valuable on many occaſions. Smoking is prohibited within the limits of the fair under a fine of twenty-five roubles. The fair is guarded by a ſpecial ſervice of Coſſacks and police.

Amongſt the amuſements are a theatre with a very good ballet, for which latter Ruſſia is famous.

There is a belief that the glory of the fair is departing. Wallace, in his "Ruſſia," 1877 (ii. 196-7), ſays :—"I went to the great fair—and was diſappointed. All the deſcriptions of it which I have read are much too highly coloured. 'The motley crowds of Orientals, repreſenting every country in the Eaſt,' is not viſible to the naked eye of a proſaic obſerver. A few Georgians, Perſians, and Bokhariots may be ſeen ſitting at their booths or ſtrolling about; but they are neither very picturеſque nor very intereſting in any way. There is a 'Chineſe Row' where tea is ſold, and where the roofs of the booths ſhow traces of the influence of pagoda architecture; but I find there no children of the Celeſtial Empire. As to the various kinds

of merchandiſe, they may all be ſeen to much better advantage in the ſhops and bazaars of Moſcow. Altogether, I ſhould adviſe the traveller not to go very far out of his way to viſit this great annual gathering, which is commonly ſpoken of by Ruſſians —eſpecially by thoſe of them who have never ſeen it—as if it were one of the ſeven wonders of the world." This is in conformity with the general depreciatory ſtyle of the entire work.

I ought not to omit mention of a little privately-printed book, "The Great Fair of Nijni Novogorod, and How we got there." By William Forſyth, Q.C. (1865.) He too was diſappointed with the fair.

*Two ſmaller Fairs.*—Beyond the great fair which I have now deſcribed as fully as ſpace would permit, there are two other fairs at Nijni, which, however, are little viſited by foreigners. The one held in January on the ice, at the mouth of the Oka, is devoted to the ſelling of wooden wares, ſuch as boxes and toys. Great numbers of people come to this fair from the neighbouring villages. In January, 1864, the ice on which the booths and inns were conſtructed gave way, and a conſiderable number of men, women, children, and horſes miſerably periſhed by drowning. Since then this winter fair can hardly be ſaid to have revived.

The other fair held on 6th July (N. S.) is for the ſale of horſes.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### FAIRS OF ASIATIC RUSSIA.

IRBIT, in the government of Perm, in Aſiatic Ruſſia.—The town is ſmall, with a population of little more than 1,000. It is encloſed with paliſades, and contains two churches and a market-place ſurrounded with ſhops. Here in paſt times a noted fair was held annually, attended by Ruſſian merchants on their way to Kiakhta. In more recent times it has been ſuperſeded by the fairs of Yekaterinburg and Nijni.

KIAKHTA (ſometimes deſignated Maimatchin, the depot for commerce).—This town is ſituated in Aſiatic Ruſſia, in the government of Irkutſk, on the Chineſe frontier. The fair appears to have been eſtabliſhed by treaty between China and Ruſſia towards the latter part of the ſixteenth century. The mode of buſineſs is after the faſhion of thoſe early barter marts, which fairs originally were. The reaſon for this ſtate of things here is that the Ruſſians are prohibited from exporting

their coin, and there is no rate of exchange or other facilities for bills of exchange between the two countries. The Ruſſian commodities are tranſported by land from St. Peterſburg and Moſcow to Tobolſk. From thence the merchants and merchandiſe may embark upon the Irtiſh down to its junction with the Oby; they can then work up the laſt-named river as far as Narym, where they enter the Ket, which they aſcend to Makoffskoi-Oſteog. At that place the merchandiſe is conveyed about ninety verſts on land to the Yeniſie. It is then neceſſary to aſcend that river, the Tunguſka, and Angara to Irkutſk, croſs the Baikal Lake, and go up the river Selenga almoſt to Kiakhta. On account of the labour of working up ſo many rapid rivers, and of the inceſſant tranſhipments—which can hardly be accompliſhed in one ſummer—many prefer to go overland altogether. They make as a general rendezvous the town of Irbit, where a conſiderable fair was formerly held. From thence the progreſs is in ſledges during the winter to Kiakhta, which is uſually reached in February—the ſeaſon in which the chief commerce is carried on with the Chineſe. The Ruſſian merchants purchaſe on their way all the furs they can find in the ſmall towns, where they are brought from the adjacent countries. When they return in the ſpring with the Chineſe goods, chiefly tea, occupying great bulk, the water route is preferred. Formerly the woollen cloths of Pruſſia were conveyed to this fair in large quantities—to the value of ſome £1,500,000—by the Ruſſian merchants. The

manufactories of Poland and Ruſſia now furniſh the cloth taken to China.

The mode of procedure in the dealings is this: The Chineſe merchant comes and examines the goods he requires in the warehouſe of the Ruſſian trader. When the price is ſettled, the goods are ſealed in the preſence of the Chineſe. Both parties then repair to the Mai-ma-tſhin, where the Ruſſian chooſes his commodities, and leaves behind him a perſon of confidence, who remains in the warehouſe until the Ruſſian goods are delivered. About 8,000,000 lbs. of tea, of which two-thirds are of ſuperior quality, were formerly taken into Ruſſia as the proceeds of this barter. There is a ſmall duty levied on the produce of each country. The trade has fallen off ſince ſea-borne tea became prevalent. Much of this now goes to Odeſſa through the Suez Canal.

YEKATERINBURG (or Ekaterinburg or Jekaterinburg), in the government of Perm in Aſiatic Ruſſia, forming the capital of the mining diſtricts of the Ural. It is a modern place, and a conſiderable fair has ſprung up, ſuperſeding that formerly held at Irbit.

# INDEX.


ACCOUNTS, ſettling of, at fairs, 9.
Actors at Sturbridge fair, 128, 144.
Aix-la-Chapelle, early fair of, 7.
Alarm bells at fairs, 6.
Ale at fairs, price fixed, 81, 82.
—— teſted, 82.
Alfred the Great, did he introduce fairs? 19.
Amphyctionic fairs, 3.
Anglo-Saxon fairs, 13.
Antwerp, influence of fairs, 10.
"Ara," the ſignal of the money-changers, 9.
Armour from Milan ſold at Sturbridge fair, 163.
Aſia, early fairs in, 19.
Aſſize of bread, wine, and beer, 63.

Bacon fair of Paris, 282.
Bailey, Mr., manager of company of comedians, 150.
Bailiffs at Sturbridge fair, 78.
Bakers at fairs, 80, 81, 84, 155.
Barnwell Abbey, hiſtory of, 148.
Barnwell (Cambridge) fair, 13, 59, 69, 75.
Bartholomew fair, origin of, 164.
—— charter, 167.
—— new charter, 173, 175.
—— right of holding challenged, 173.
—— review of during four centuries, 181.
—— diſputation of ſcholars in, 182.
—— deſcribed by a foreigner, 188.
—— proclaimed by City of London, 190.
—— unauthorized proclamation of, 205.
—— proclamation diſcontinued, 242.
—— under the Commonwealth, 201, 204.
—— deſcribed (1641), 199.
—— viſited by a Frenchman, 215.
—— ſurveyed by Hone, 236.
—— threatened, 210, 213, 217, 229, 232, 240.
—— duration limited, 221, 223, 227, 229, 233.

Bartholomew Fair, caſh taken by ſhows, &c., 239.
—— ſuppreſſion of, 223.
—— the end, 240.
—— new, 241.
Beaucaire (France), fair of, 262.
Bells for giving alarm at fairs, 6.
Beer, ſale of, at Sturbridge fair, 155.
Berdicheff (Ruſſia), fair of, 285.
Beſançon, fair of, 263.
Bible references to fairs, 5.
Bills of exchange at fairs, 267.
Blackſtone on fairs and markets, 15.
Book ſale at Sturbridge fair, 126.
Book ſtalls at Bartholomew fair, 239.
Books at the fairs of Lyons, 269.
Booths in Barnwell fair, 60.
—— bequeſts of, 66, 67, 68, 79.
Booths in Sturbridge fair, 102, 103, 112, 118, 132, 141.
Bordeaux, fair of, 264.
Borough laws of Scotland, 27.
Braiſne-le-Comte (France), fair of, 283.
Bread, aſſize of, 191.
Bridewell boys at Bartholomew fair, 231.
Brie (France), fairs of, 8, 245.
Briſtol, fair at, 35, 66.
Bruges (Flanders), fair of, 8.
Butchers to ſell good meat, 84.

Caen (Normandy), fair of, 264.
Calendar, alteration of, 47, 230.
Cambridge, fairs of, 35, 55.
Cambridge town, conflict with univerſity, 56, 104.
Cambridge univerſity, rights in Sturbridge fair, 70, 74.
Carter's account of Sturbridge fair, 144.
Caſh receipts of ſhows, &c., at Bartholomew fair, 239.
Cattle fair at Smithfield, 210, 224.
Champagne, fair of, 8.
Champagne and Brie, fairs of, 245.
Chapel at Sturbridge fair, 77.
Charity dormitory at Nijni fair, 305.
Charters of fairs, 14.
Cheeſe fair at Sturbridge, 150.
China, productions of, at Ruſſian fairs, 292, 297, 300, 308.
Chriſtening at Sturbridge fair, 145.
Church feſtivals and fairs, 2, 15.
Churchyard fairs aboliſhed, 25.
Chriſtie, Mr. Chancellor, 269.
Citizens of London attending fairs, 60, 66, 68, 100.
Citizens of London free of fairs, 20.
City of London, grant to, of Smithfield, 198.
Clark, Joſeph, the "Poſturer," 215.
Clerk of the fair, 24.
Cloth at fairs, 278, 299.
Cloth trade in Bartholomew fair, 186, 210.
Cloth, right of ſearch, 98.
Clothiers at Sturbridge fair, 136.
Coinage, 46.
College gowns, material bought at fairs, 87.
Cologne, merchants of, might attend Engliſh fairs, 23.
Commerce at fairs, 163.
Commonwealth and Bartholomew fair, 201.

Company of merchants from Holſtein, 293.
Cotton goods at Ruſſian fairs, 299.
Courtray (France), fair of, 8.
Courts for adjuſting differences. See Piepowder, courts of.
Courts of pedlars, 27.
Coventry, fair at, 35.
Crecy, fair of, 283.
Crying the fair, 32.

Dagonizing of Bartholomew fair, 206.
Daniſh ſlaves ſold, 10.
Day, Charles, his booth at Sturbridge fair, 147.
Defoe's deſcription of Sturbridge fair, 133.
Dice and hazard tables at Bartholomew fair, 225.
Dieppe, fair of, 265.
Diſputation of ſcholars in Smithfield, 182.
Diſputes, adjuſtment of, 9.
Diſputes between City of London and Prior of St. Bartholomew, 169.
Diſſolution of monaſteries, 180.
Dower, right of, in fair booths, 119.
Draining the Fens, 122.
Drama, the, at Bartholomew fair, 195.
Drapers' Company, 194.
Duddery in Sturbridge fair, 77, 135, 137.
Duration of fairs, 32.

Elegy on "Bartlemy" fair, 234.
Elizavetgrad (Ruſſia), fair of, 285.
Ely, fair at, 35.
Embroidery, ſearch for, 64.
England, early fairs in, 19.
England, laws relating to fairs, 12.
Engliſh merchants attending fairs, 37.
—— at French fairs, 272, 276.
Eſcheator, duties of, as to fairs, 25.
Europe, early fairs in, 19.
Evelyn viſits Bartholomew fair, 201.
Exchanges at fairs, 248.
Executions at Smithfield, 171.

Fair committee, 302.
Fair, ſignification of the term, 2.
Fairs, origin of, 1.
—— by preſcription, 15, 16, 17, 29.
Fair on Mount Calvary, 3.
Fairs, duration of, 33.
—— ſources of revenue to religious houſes, 2.
—— courts for adjuſting differences at, 6, 26.
—— prohibited during plague. See Plague.
—— reſtricting dealings in, 41.
—— ſeal of, 248.
—— ſpecific legiſlation for, 28.
Feaſt days, fairs on, 34.
Fellowſhip of Mercers, 37.
Fielding kept a booth at Bartholomew fair, 225.
Fire, alarm of, at Sturbridge fair, 149
—— at Bartholomew fair, 225, 234.
"Firm peace," a privilege of fairs, 168.
Fiſh at fairs to be good, 83.
—— foreſtalling of, 73, 76, 111.
Flanders, fairs of, 8.
Flemiſh weavers at Sturbridge fair, 161.

Flood at Sturbridge fair, 1562, 100.
Foreign merchants in England, 21-24, 61.
Foreigners at Bartholomew fair, 168.
Foreſtalling, 50, 72, 73, 85.
Forſyth (W.), his work quoted, 307.
Four early fairs in England, 19.
France, early fairs in, 8.
—— fairs in, 244, 261, 274.
Franchiſes of fairs, 18, 246, 269.
Fraternity of St. Thomas Becket, 38.
Free borough, right of fairs in, 18.
Freemen of London attending fairs, 34, 36.

Gaming prohibited at Sturbridge fair, 156.
Garlick-row, Sturbridge fair, 157.
Genoeſe commerce, 8, 9, 10, 296.
—— merchants at Sturbridge fair, 161.
Germany, early fairs, in, 7.
Goal delivery in Sturbridge fair, 118.
Golden crowns of the ſun, 269.
Greece, origin of fairs in, 3.
Greek church, feſtivals of the, 27.
Guibray (France), fair of, 266.
Gunning, Henry, "Reminiſcences of Cambridge," 148.

Hackney coaches in Sturbridge fair, 117, 126, 140, 142.
"Hand and Shears," tailors at the, 204, 211.
Hangman hanged in Smithfield, 184.
Hanſe Towns trading at Sturbridge fair, 161.
Hanſeatic League, 23.
Helſton (Cornwall), fair at, 13.
Heretics burned in Smithfield, 179.
Hertford, claimed exemption from tolls, 70.
Hiſtorical ſhirt, 203.
Hone's ſurvey of Bartholomew fair, 236.
Hone, account of Sturbridge fair, 149.
Hops at Sturbridge fair, 137, 139, 143.
—— right of weighing at Sturbridge, 125.
Horners' Company, right of ſearch, 66.
Horſe-bread at fairs, 84.
Horſe fairs, 43.
—— fair, Sturbridge, 152, 157.
—— and cattle fairs of France, 282.
—— dealers in French fairs, 247, 250.
—— fairs of Ruſſia, 285, 307.
Hoſpital for lepers, fair for, 55, 59.
Hoſtilities ſuſpended during fairs, 4.
Houſehold ſtores bought at fairs, 63.

Idle games prohibited, 114.
Ill fame, arreſt of perſons of, 78, 155, 156.
Indulgences ſold at fairs, 6.
Initiation at Sturbridge fair, 145.
Inquiries into grants of fairs, 16.
Inquiſitions as to fairs, 17, 54.
Inſpectors of fairs (France), 248, 273.

International reciprocity, 21.
Intoxicating liquors at fairs, 53.
Ironmonger's row, Sturbridge fair, 153.
Ironware at fairs, 298.
Ireland, fairs in, 51, 52.
Italy, fairs in, 6.

Jew traders, 7.
Jews at the fair of Paris, 275.
Jitomir (Ruſſia), fair of, 286.
Jonſon, Ben, "Bartholomew fair," 195.

Karkoff (Ruſſia), fair of, 286.
Kaſan (Ruſſia), fair of, 286.
Keeper of the fair, 24.
Kenſington, Lord, and Bartholomew fair, 205, 240.
Kiakhta (Ruſſia), fair of, 301, 308.
"King's beam," 113.
King's jeſter, or court fool, 165.
King's market, Smithfield, 166.
Korennaya (Ruſſia), fair of, 287.
Kremenchuk (Ruſſia), fair of, 287.
Kurſk (Ruſſia), fair of, 287.

Land tax in Sturbridge fair, 144
Lapland, fairs in, 28.
Laws relating to fairs amended, 51, 52.
Leather, ſale of, at Bartholomew fair, 167.
Lendit fair (Paris), 275.
Liſter's "Travels" quoted, 279.

Locke, John, at Bartholomew fair, 208.
Lombard exchange at Sturbridge fair, 161.
Lombard merchants, 272.
London, growth of, 185.
London merchants attending fairs, 34.
London merchants attend the fairs of France, 257.
London theatres cloſed during Bartholomew fair, 219, 224.
Lord of the fair, 166.
"Lord of the taps," 123.
Lord Mayor, fatal accident to, 212.
Lotteries in Bartholomew fair, 219.
Lynn, port of, and Sturbridge fair, 160.
Lyons, fairs of, 76, 93, 266, 270.

Magna Charta, privileges as to fairs, 20.
Maidſtone fair prohibited, 126.
Maimatchin (Ruſſia), fair of, 308.
Makariev, fair of, 287, 292.
Manors, fairs granted to Lords of, 18.
Markets of the Romans, 27.
Mayor's houſe at Sturbridge fair, 123.
Meaſures at Bartholomew fair, 191.
Meaſures teſted at fairs, 83, 85.
Mecklenberg, ſale of ſlaves at, 10.
Menageries, 280.
Menagerie, firſt travelling, at Bartholomew fair, 222.
Merchant Adventurers, Company of, 36.
Merchants attending fairs in England, 19, 20.
Merchant Taylors' right of ſearch, 193.
Meſſen, German deſignation for fairs, 2.

Metropolitan Police Diſtrict, fairs in, 49, 51.
Michells' "Hand-book of Ruſſia," 303.
Miracle plays, 179.
Miſſa, Latin deſignation for fair, 2.
Monaſteries, diſſolution of, 180.
Mont Caſel, fair of, 8.
Montely, fair of, 283.
Montrichard (France), fair of, 270.
Mount Calvary, fair on, 3.
Mouravieff's folly, 293.

Nangis, fair of, 283.
New Bartholomew fair, 241.
Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, fair at, 13.
Night-watch at Sturbridge fair, 88.
Nijni Novgorod, fair of, 163, 284, 291, 306.
—— trade at, 303.
Nivet (France), fair of, 283.
Nogent-ſur-Seine (France), fair of, 283.
Normans, fairs largely introduced by, 14.
North of Europe, fairs in, 10.
Northampton claimed freedom from tolls, 70.
Northumberland, fairs in, 13.
Notaries at fairs, 272.
Nottingham, fair at, 35.

Olcarius, travels of, 293.
Olympian games, 3, 27.
Onion fair of Notre Dame, 282.
Orel (Ruſſia), fair of, 288.
Owen Lewy, clown at Sturbridge fair, 150.
Owners of fairs, 53.
Oxford, fair at, 35, 66.

Oyſters at Sturbridge fair, 144, 152.

Paris, fairs of, 275.
Paſſport ſyſtem at fairs, 395.
Paving the ſtreets, 194.
Payments at fairs, 267.
Parchment ſold at fairs, 277.
Pepys on Bartholomew fair, 207, 209.
Pewterers' Company, right of ſearch, 89.
Philips, W., actor, &c., 214.
Piepowder, courts of, 6, 26, 28, 29, 30, 91, 142.
Piepowder court at Sturbridge fair, 152, 159.
Plague, 44, 46, 101, 114, 118, 119, 121, 124.
Plague in London, 174, 186, 190, 197, 208.
Political alluſions at Bartholomew fair, 214.
Political pamphlets, 200.
Poltava (Ruſſia), fair of, 289.
Pope, merchandiſe of the, 22 (note).
Pork fair of Paris, 282.
Preaching at Sturbridge fair, 123, 130.
Preſcription, fairs held by, 15, 16, 17.
Prince of Wales at Bartholomew fair, 227.
Printed matter, ſale of, at fairs, 46.
Priory of Bartholomew, 164, 169, 173.
Privilege of fairs, 16.
Proceſſion to proclaim Sturbridge fair, 132.
Proclamation of fairs, 33, 79.
Proctors' booth in Sturbridge fair, 117.
Proximity of fairs, 16.

Puritans, the, and Bartholomew fair, 202.

Queen Elizabeth, rejoicings on birth of, 73.

Rahere, founder of St. Bartholomew fair, 165.
—— almoners, 166.
Rattleſnakes at Bartholomew fair, 225.
Regulations for markets and fairs, 50.
Religious petticoat, 203.
Reſtricting dealings in fairs, 41.
Reſtoration, the, and Bartholomew, 206.
Retail dealings prohibited, 43.
Rheims, fair of, 270.
Rich, Lord, and Bartholomew fair, 184, 188.
Riga, fair of, 289.
Rival fairs, 16.
Robberies in fairs, 40, 184.
Robbery at Caen fair, 265.
Rogers, E. Thorold, on Sturbridge fair, 160.
Rome, fairs of, 5.
Roman fairs in England, 13.
Roman markets, 27.
Roſtof (Ruſſia), fair of, 290.
Rouen, fairs of, 270.
Royal grant, fairs originated by, 15, 17.
Ruſſia, fairs of, 284.
—— ſmaller fairs of, 307.
—— Aſiatic fairs in, 308.

St. Denis, fair of, 275.
St. Germain, fair of, 278.
St. Lawrence, fair of, 280.
St. Ovide, fair of, 281.
Salander, Dr. Tobias, in St. Bartholomew fair, 189.
Saliſbury, fair at, 35, 66.
Sanitary arrangements at Nijni fair, 306.
Schiſmatical congregations prohibited, 143.
Seal of fairs, 24, 248.
Search for defective cloth, 193.
Selling after cloſe of fair, penalty, 33.
Setting of willows, 101.
Ships of merchants coming to fairs, 20.
Shoemaker row, Sturbridge fair, 153.
Shops at Sturbridge fair, 151.
Siſmondi quoted, 272.
Skinners' Company, and Sturbridge fair, 117.
Slaves, ſale of, in fairs of Europe, 3 (note), 70.
Slaves ſold in Smithfield, 179.
Slaves at St. Denis fair, 275.
Smithfield, originally Smoothfield, 165.
Smithfield, ſtage entertainment on, 220.
Southwark (Our Lady) fair, 197.
Stage plays, 49, 50, 128, 144, 195.
Stage plays, act againſt, 201.
Stage plays prohibited at Bartholomew fair, 217, 229, 232.
Stars of London theatres acting at Bartholomew fair, 224.
Statute of Glouceſter, inquiries under, 17.
Storm at Sturbridge fair (1741), 143, 147.
Strolling player, life of, 226.
Sturbridge chapel, 59.
Sturbridge fair, 21.
—— hiſtory of, 54.
—— impeached, 75.
—— new charter, 92, 106.
—— De Foe's deſcription of, 133.
—— plan of, 147.

Sturbridge fair, merchandiſe at, 149.
—— money taken at, 152.
—— laſt time called by univerſity, 154.
—— proclamation by univerſity, 154.
—— proclamation by town, 158.
Sunday fairs, 34.
Sunday trading prohibited, 156, 192.
Supplies purchaſed at fairs, 103.
Suſpected people to be arreſted, 99.

Tallow, ſale of, 72.
Theatrical performances, 49.
Thermopylæ, fairs of, 4.
Tolls of fairs, 15, 21 (note), 65, 69, 94.
Tolls, Bartholomew fair, 169, 176, 180, 205, 209, 230, 240, 241.
Torhout, fair of, 8.
Toulon, fair of, 271.
Treſpaſs at Sturbridge fair, 143.
Tribunals of commerce, 28.
Troy weight, 272.
Troyes, fairs of, 7, 271.
Tunbridge ware at Sturbridge fair, 154.
Tuſcan merchants, 272.
Tyre, fairs of, 4.
Tyſon, Rev. Michael, 146.

Univerſities, rights of, reſerved, 43.

Venetian merchants at Sturbridge fair, 161.
Victuals, meaſures for ſale of, to be ſealed, 156.
Voronej, fair of, 290.

Walden claimed freedom from tolls, 70.
Wales, fairs in, 18, 39.
Wallace executed in Smithfield, 171.
Wallace's "Ruſſia" quoted, 306.
Warden of the fair, 249.
Wardens of the privileges, 247.
Weights for fairs, 25.
Weighing goods at Sturbridge fair, 145.
Weights in Bartholomew fair, 191.
Weſtminſter, ſtatute of, 23.
Wine at fairs, price fixed, 83, 156.
Wines at Bordeaux fair, 264.
Winter fair, Ruſſia, 307.
Wood at fairs to be good, 86.
Wooden ware, Sturbridge, 157.
Wool at Sturbridge fair, 139, 162.
Woollen goods at fairs, 278.
Women, "unhoneſt," excluded from Sturbridge fair, 155, 156.
Wreſtling matches in Bartholomew fair, 198.

Yekateringburg (Ruſſia), fair of, 310.

Zytormiers (Ruſſia), fair of, 286.

# A SHORT LIST OF ANTIQUARIAN AND OTHER WORKS.

*In foolscap 4to, on Handmade Paper, bound in vellum of very beautiful design.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

## A BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE.

Written by JOHN SKELTON, Poet Laureate to King Henry 8th.

Reproduced in Facsimile,—With an Historical and Bibliographical Introduction by JOHN ASHTON.

THE BALLADE OF THE SCOTTYSSHE KYNGE is the earliest known printed English ballad; it was discovered under curious and interesting circumstances, which are narrated in detail in the Introduction, and is here very carefully facsimiled. A limited number of copies were issued in a tasteful form for those collectors of ballads and connoisseurs of early printing who desire to possess the work in the nearest shape to its original form. It is accompanied by an Historical and Bibliographical Introduction, giving an account of the various printed forms of the incidents it records, with Illustrative Quotations from the more important of them; also Notes from Contemporary History, elucidating the events of the Ballad, and other information interesting to the Antiquary and the Bibliographer.

*In foolscap 4to, tastefully printed in Antique style, on Handmade Paper, with rough edges, and bound in vellum of very beautiful pattern.* 16*s.*

## A NOBLE BOKE OF COOKRY

*ffor a Prynce houssolde or eny other estately houssolde.*

Reprinted Verbatim from a rare MS. in the Holkham Collection. With an Introduction by MRS. NAPIER. This very curious and interesting work is a reproduction of a fourteenth century cookery book, containing numerous recipes for dishes which were in common use at that period, many of which are now obsolete; others are evidently the early counterparts of made dishes of the present day. The work also furnishes a number of *menus* of great contemporary feasts, which throw much fresh light on the domestic habits of our ancestors.

*Printed on rough Handmade Paper similar to that of the original, and bound in handsome contemporary vellum binding.* £2 2*s.*

A FACSIMILE OF

## THE BOKE OF ST. ALBAN'S.

By DAME JULIANA BERNERS.

Containing the Treatises on Hawking, Hunting, and Heraldry.

Printed at St. Alban's, by the Schoolmaster-Printer, in 1486. With an Introduction by WILLIAM BLADES, Author of the 'Life and Typography of Caxton.' This facsimile is faithfully reproduced by photography. The interest and value of this reproduction are greatly enhanced by Mr. BLADES' Preface, which treats at length, in separate chapters, of the Authorship, Typography, Bibliography, Subject-matter, and Philology of the Work.